HISTORY OF IRELAND

00035371

00035371

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh
FOUNDATION

An Initiative by
HDFC
WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018

History of Ireland

HALF-VOLUME IV

FLIGHT OF JAMES II FROM IRELAND, JULY 12, 1690

FROM A CONTEMPORARY DUTCH PRINT

HISTORY OF IRELAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

THE REV. E. A. D'ALTON

LL.D. M.R.I.A.

35371 aL

HALF-VOLUME IV

1649 TO 1782

LONDON

THE GRESHAM PUBLISHING COMPANY

THIRTY-FOUR SOUTHAMPTON STREET STRAND

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XV

THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY

	Page
The Confederation Formed	257
The General Assembly and the Supreme Council	258
Progress of the War	259
Owen Roe O'Neill	260
The War in Connaught and in Clare	262
The Catholics get Supplies	264
The New and Old Irish	265
The Marquis of Ormond	266
The Cessation	267
Strength of the various Parties	269
Peace Negotiations	273
Glamorgan's Treaty	274

CHAPTER XVI

THE PAPAL NUNCIO

Peter Scarampi	276
Arrival of Rinuccini	278
State of the Country	279
Further Peace Negotiations	280
War Resumed	282
Battle of Benburb	283
Peace Proclaimed	287
It is Denounced by Rinuccini	288
O'Neill Active	289
New Supreme Council	290
O'Neill and Preston at Dublin	290
Ormond makes Terms with the Parliament	291
Battle of Dungan Hill	292
Inchiquin sacks Cashel	293

Page
Taaffe Defeated - - - - - - - - - - 294
Power of O'Neill - - - - - - - - - - 294
Cessation of Inchiquin - - - - - - - - 295
Return of Ormond - - - - - - - - - 296
Rinuccini leaves Ireland - - - - - - - - 296

CHAPTER XVII

CROMWELL'S CAMPAIGN

Ormond's Difficulties - - - - - - - - - 298
His Terms with the Catholics - - - - - - - 299
His Strength - - - - - - - - - - 301
Battle of Rathmines - - - - - - - - - 301
Oliver Cromwell - - - - - - - - - 303
Appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland - - - - 305
His Army - - - - - - - - - - 306
Captures Drogheda and Wexford - - - - - 307
Ormond and O'Neill - - - - - - - - - 311
Death of O'Neill - - - - - - - - - 312
Cromwell in Munster - - - - - - - - - 312
Revolt of the Munster Garrisons - - - - - 314
The Catholic Bishops and Cromwell - - - - - 315
Progress of the War - - - - - - - - - 317
Siege of Clonmel - - - - - - - - - 319
Cromwell returns to England - - - - - - - 321

CHAPTER XVIII

CROMWELL'S SUCCESSORS

The Ulster Army Defeated - - - - - - - - 322
Distrust of Ormond - - - - - - - - - 325
The Bishops denounce him - - - - - - - 327
He leaves Ireland - - - - - - - - - 328
Negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine - - - - 329
The Puritans gain ground - - - - - - - - 331
Siege and Capture of Limerick - - - - - - - 332
Death of Ireton - - - - - - - - - 336
Capture of Galway - - - - - - - - - 336
Many Places submit - - - - - - - - - 338

Page
The Articles of Kilkenny - - - - - - - - 338
The War Ended - - - - - - - - - - 339

CHAPTER XIX

THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT

The Rebellion of 1641 - - - - - - - - - 341
Money subscribed in England to suppress it - - - 342
The Adventurers - - - - - - - - - - 343
Act for the Settling of Ireland - - - - - - 344
Proceedings of the High Court of Justice - - - - 345
Act for the Satisfaction of Adventurers - - - - 347
Native Irish transplanted to Connaught, - - - - 348
Their Sufferings - - - - - - - - - - 349
Division of Lands - - - - - - - - - 350
Planters' Complaints - - - - - - - - 352
The Swordsmen - - - - - - - - - - 353
The Priests - - - - - - - - - - - 354
Desolation of the Country - - - - - - - 355
Those sent to Barbadoes - - - - - - - - 356
The Wolves—The Tories - - - - - - - 357
State of Connaught - - - - - - - - - 358
Failure of Cromwell's Policy - - - - - - 360

CHAPTER XX

AFTER THE RESTORATION

Discontent with Cromwell—Recall of Charles the Second 362
State of Ireland - - - - - - - - - - 363
Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland - - - - 366
Court of Claims - - - - - - - - - - 368
Act of Settlement - - - - - - - - - - 368
Viceroyalty of Ormond - - - - - - - - 371
Berkley and Essex - - - - - - - - - 377
Ormond again Viceroy—The Tories - - - - - 379
Catholics Persecuted - - - - - - - - - 380
Oliver Plunkett - - - - - - - - - - 382
Ormond Dismissed—Death of Charles - - - - 383

CHAPTER XXI

THE REIGN OF JAMES II

Page
Character of James - - - - - - - - - 385
He irritates the Protestants - - - - - - 387
William of Orange invited to England - - - - 388
Clarendon in Ireland - - - - - - - - 388
Succeeded by Tyrconnell - - - - - - - 390
Ulster in Arms - - - - - - - - - 392
Richard Hamilton - - - - - - - - 395
Siege of Derry - - - - - - - - - 397
Arrival of James from France - - - - - - 404
Parliament at Dublin - - - - - - - - 405
Jacobites Defeated - - - - - - - - 407

CHAPTER XXII

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CROWN

William of Orange lands in England and becomes King 409
Schomberg in Ulster - - - - - - - - 411
Encamps at Dundalk - - - - - - - - 412
Unrest in England - - - - - - - - 415
King William in Ireland - - - - - - - 415
Battle of the Boyne - - - - - - - - 416
James returns to France - - - - - - - 423
William's Movements - - - - - - - - 424
Siege of Limerick - - - - - - - - 425
Churchill captures Cork and Kinsale - - - - - 432

CHAPTER XXIII

THE END OF THE STRUGGLE

Lauzun and Tyrconnell - - - - - - - 433
Irish Deputation to France - - - - - - 434
Tyrconnell at Limerick - - - - - - - 435
Positions held by the two Parties - - - - - 436
The Rapparees - - - - - - - - - 436
The Country Wasted - - - - - - - - 437
Tyrconnell and Sarsfield - - - - - - - 438

Page
Bealdearg O'Donnell - - - - - - - - - 438
Sarsfield's Operations - - - - - - - - - 439
General St. Ruth - - - - - - - - - - 440
Siege of Athlone - - - - - - - - - - 442
Battle of Aughrim - - - - - - - - - 445
Fall of Galway and Sligo - - - - - - - - 451
Second Siege of Limerick - - - - - - - - 452
Treaty of Limerick and End of the War - - - - - 452

CHAPTER XXIV

THE PENAL LAWS

Catholics under Elizabeth - - - - - - - - 456
Protestantism makes no Progress - - - - - - 458
Persecutions under the Puritans - - - - - - - 459
Treaty of Limerick Violated - - - - - - - 461
Penal Enactments - - - - - - - - - 466
Death of William - - - - - - - - - - 470
More Penal Laws - - - - - - - - - 470
Sufferings of the Catholics - - - - - - - - 473
The Middlemen or Squireens - - - - - - - 476
Lawlessness, Beggary, and Famine - - - - - - 476
Emigration - - - - - - - - - - - 480
Failure of the Protestant Clergy to Convert the Catholics 481
Effects of the Penal Laws - - - - - - - - 485
Dawn of Toleration - - - - - - - - - 487

CHAPTER XXV

THE IRISH ABROAD

Spain and Ireland - - - - - - - - 488
France and Spain - - - - - - - - - 491
The Wild Geese - - - - - - - - - - 492
Exploits of the Irish Abroad - - - - - - - 493
Death of Sarsfield - - - - - - - - - 494
The Vaudois - - - - - - - - - - 494
War of the Spanish Succession - - - - - - - 495
Defence of Cremona - - - - - - - - - 496

Page

Fate of the Exiles - - - - - - - - - 497
War of the Austrian Succession - - - - - - - 499
Battle of Fontenoy - - - - - - - - - 500
Illustrious Irish Names - - - - - - - - 503
Lally-Tollendal - - - - - - - - - - 505

CHAPTER XXVI

WRITERS AND SCHOOLS

The Bards - - - - - - - - - - - 507
Works of Ecclesiastics - - - - - - - - - 508
Duns Scotus - - - - - - - - - - - 509
Irish Educated Abroad - - - - - - - - 510
Keating, Rothe, French, Lynch - - - - - - 513
Peter Talbot and Peter Walsh - - - - - - 516
Irish at Louvain - - - - - - - - - 517
Colgan and O'Clery - - - - - - - - - 519
Trinity College - - - - - - - - - - 521
Usher and Ware - - - - - - - - - 523
Writers of the Eighteenth Century - - - - - 526

CHAPTER XXVII

THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE

Composition of the Irish Parliament - - - - - 528
Its Powers - - - - - - - - - - - 529
Molyneux - - - - - - - - - - - 531
Irish and English Parliaments compared - - - - 532
Irish Enactments - - - - - - - - - - 533
Wood's Halfpence - - - - - - - - - 535
Primate Boulter - - - - - - - - - 539
The Charter Schools - - - - - - - - 540
Bishop Berkeley - - - - - - - - - 541
Death of Swift - - - - - - - - - 541
State of the Country - - - - - - - - 542
Oakboys and Whiteboys - - - - - - - 543
Rise of a Parliamentary Opposition - - - - - 544
Henry Flood - - - - - - - - - - 546

Page
Townshend's Administration - - - - - - - 547
Henry Grattan - - - - - - - - - - 548
The Volunteers - - - - - - - - - - 549
Commercial Restraints - - - - - - - - 550
Legislative Independence - - - - - - - - 552

LIST OF PLATES

HALF-VOLUME IV

	FACING PAGE
FLIGHT OF JAMES II. FROM IRELAND	*Frontispiece*
JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF ORMOND	274
OLIVER CROMWELL	303
THE CITY OF LIMERICK	334
JAMES II. LANDING AT KINSALE	397
THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY	403
THE CASTLE OF LIMERICK	431
PATRICK SARSFIELD	494
DEAN SWIFT	536

The Battle of Benburb	285
The Siege of Dublin	301
Drogheda	307
Siege of Wexford	311
The Cromwellian Settlement	341
The Siege of Derry	397
Battle of the Boyne	419
Siege of Limerick	425
Plan of Athlone	443
Battle of Aughrim	447

CHAPTER XV.

The Confederation of Kilkenny.

THE Catholic Bishops of Ulster met at Kells in May, 1642, and after due deliberation declared the war in which the Catholics were engaged to be justified. At the same time they issued decrees against murderers and usurpers of other mens' estates, encouraged by a public address their countrymen to take up arms for their religion, their country and their King; and knowing that national consultation and national effort were necessary, they summoned the Bishops of Ireland to a national synod, to be held at Kilkenny.[1] This synod met on the 10th of May. Many of the Catholic nobility and gentry also came to Kilkenny, and between laity and clergy consultations were often held, after which by common consent the Catholics formed themselves into an association which came to be called the Confederation of Kilkenny, as its members were called the Confederate Catholics. Each member swore loyalty to the King, and bound himself to defend the "power and privileges of the Parliament of this realm;" the free exercise of the Catholic religion; the lives, liberties, possessions and rights of all those who took the prescribed oath and kept it; and further that he would obey the orders of the governing body of the association, and would seek for no pardon, make no arrangement, nor accept any peace without the consent of a majority of its

[1] Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, p. 219.

members. The synod of the clergy also decreed that no difference was to be made between old and new Irish. All who should forsake the Confederacy, having once taken the oath, were to be excommunicated, and the same penalty was meted out to murderers and thieves.[2] The whole executive government of the Confederate Catholics passed at once into the hands of a Supreme Council of 24 members. Each of the provinces was to be governed by a provincial council, consisting of two deputies from each county; each county to have a council of two members from each barony, to have authority in all purely local matters, and to name all county officers, except the high sheriff. From the county councils an appeal lay to the provincial councils, and the Supreme Council was the ultimate Court of Appeal.

All these councils were to derive their authority from the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics, which was appointed to meet in Kilkenny.[3] It was modelled on the Parliament of Dublin, but for fear of giving offence to the King it was not called a Parliament, but a General Assembly. Like the Parliament, it was to consist of two houses or orders; the first order consisted of all the bishops, mitred abbots, and lay lords who had seats in the Irish House of Peers, and the second of 226 members from the various counties and boroughs. Both orders usually sat together, but the first order might consult in private, and then communicate their views to the second order. The Supreme Council was to be selected by the Assembly from among its own members, and was to be responsible to the General Assembly, who might change its composition, and extend or curtail its powers. A provisional Supreme Council was at once established, and writs were issued for the elections. These took place in due course; and the General Assembly met at Kilkenny, in October. The Supreme Council of 24—six from each province—was then appointed; Mountgarret was appointed President and Richard Bellings became secretary. The Council was to have a guard of 500 foot and 200 horse; to have power over all military officers and civil magistrates; could decide all matters undecided by the General Assembly, and

[2] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. I., pp. 262-8.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 9-16.

could hear and judge all capital and criminal causes except titles to lands, and do all kinds of acts for promoting the common cause of the Confederacy, and the good of the kingdom.[4]

In the earlier stages of the war, the Ulster Catholics had refrained from interfering with the Scotch planters in their midst; they were strong in numbers, and it was best not to provoke them. Yet, it is not unlikely that some were confounded with the English and suffered with them; and perhaps it was for this reason that the garrison of Carrickfergus, mostly Scotch, issued from the town, in January, swept like a hurricane through Island Magee, and put every Catholic there, man, woman and child, to the sword. There is some dispute as to the number thus murdered, and also as to the time; but there is none as to the massacre having taken place, and none as to its being bloody and unprovoked.[5] Henceforth the Scotch were even more dreaded than the English; and when General Monroe, with 5,000 Scots landed in April at Carrickfergus, the position of the Irish, already driven from Drogheda and Dundalk, became desperate, for there was then in Ulster an army, English and Scotch, of 12,000 men.[6] With part of their forces Monroe and Lord Conway captured Newry and overran Down;[7] while Sir William Stewart, who commanded in the north-west the army of the Lagan, fell upon Sir Phelim O'Neill near Raphoe and defeated him with great loss; and Lord Montgomery captured Armagh, Charlemont and Dungannon. And if Monroe had been sufficiently active, the Catholic army would have been speedily destroyed.[8] But, even as matters stood, they felt themselves beaten; they lost all hope of being able to continue the struggle, and resolved to abandon the war. Each one was to make the best terms he could. In this condition were the Catholics, dispirited, cowed, hopeless, when Owen Roe O'Neill arrived in Ulster in July, and by the unanimous vote of the whole army was placed in chief command.

[4] Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, pp. 43-4.
[5] Miss Hickson, Vol. I., pp. 255-76.
[6] Carte, Vol. I., p. 310.
[7] Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, Vol. I., pp. 419-23.
[8] Carte, p. 311.

He was nephew to the great Earl of Tyrone, and having left Ireland at an early age, entered the military service of the Spanish Netherlands. Like his uncle, and unlike most of his countrymen, he was cool and cautious, and painstaking, never boasted, spoke little; and long before the rising of 1641 had come to be regarded as the greatest of the old Irish abroad and the hope of the old Irish at home. With these latter he was kept in touch through the priests who went to the Continent, and with the officers and soldiers who went from Ireland into foreign armies—Colonel O'Byrne and others, and most remarkable of all, his own nephew, Daniel O'Neill. Brought up in England, Daniel was educated a Protestant, and lived and died one; was much about the English court; was much trusted by the King; and was, says Clarendon, much superior in subtlety and understanding to the whole nation of the old Irish.[9] Through these various agents a constant correspondence was kept up between Roger Moore and Owen Roe, the work of organising the Irish at home was attended to; and Owen's Irish legions in Flanders were being gradually increased. Owen himself was meanwhile gaining experience; his great talents were being matured; and the skill with which he defended Arras against three French armies spread his fame throughout Europe. The siege over, he retired to Brussels to perfect his plans for the contemplated rebellion in Ireland, and received there the disappointing news that Dublin Castle was not captured, as it could have been, if treachery had not intervened. Then he formed other plans, and, finally, left Dunkirk with three vessels, captured two small English vessels at sea; and with 200 trained officers, and a good supply of arms and ammunition, arrived at Donegal, in July, 1642.[10]

When Lord Montgomery captured the town of Charlemont in June he was unable to capture its strong castle, which continued to be garrisoned by Irish troops. He meditated a second attack in conjunction with Lord Conway; but Monroe refused to co-operate, and the attack was not made; nor was Charlemont town held, and when Owen Roe arrived in Ireland it was there he met the Ulster

[9] Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, Vol. I., pp. 428-9.
[10] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 186-7; Taylor's *Life of Owen Roe O'Neill*, pp. 107-12.

chiefs, and there was elected commander-in-chief.[11] With his large force Monroe continued idle at Carrickfergus, only sending out parties to waste the counties of Antrim and Down. Montgomery lay at Lisburn, unable to undertake any large operations; the Lagan forces, through lack of supplies, were in a similar condition, and were in garrison through the towns of Donegal.[12] And thus it happened that O'Neill was allowed to remain unmolested at Charlemont and draw supplies from the plains of Tyrone. He had but 1,500 men under his command, and at once set about strengthening his position, fully expecting to be soon besieged, for Leslie, lately created Earl of Leven, arrived from Scotland in August, and took supreme command, and with the forces he brought with him and those already in Ulster, he had more than 20,000 men at his disposal. Yet he effected little, though he threatened much. With a large force he crossed the Bann into Derry and then marched south to Tyrone. It seemed as if he who prided himself on being, next to Gustavus Adolphus, the first general of the age, was afraid to measure swords with O'Neill. And he contented himself with writing him a letter expressing surprise that so great a soldier should engage in so bad a cause; to which O'Neill answered that he had more right to come to relieve his country in its distress than Leslie had to enter England and make war on his lawful king. From Tyrone Leslie recrossed the Bann, and at Carrickfergus relinquished the supreme command to Monroe, telling him that if O'Neill could ever get an army together he would worst him.[13]

But for O'Neill to get such an army together and to put it in a state of efficiency was no easy matter. At the outset he expressed abhorrence of some of the outrages committed by the Catholics. Some, against whom serious crimes were proved, he executed; the houses of others he set on fire; and when murmurs arose at these stern measures, he told them that he would rather go over to the English than have these crimes go unpunished. English prisoners of war, if no serious charges were proved against them, he at once discharged,

[11] Carte, pp. 310-11.
[12] Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 475.
[13] Carte, p. 349.

and in some cases compensated. His call to arms met with a hearty response, for there was much fighting material in Ulster. But these levies had to be drilled, and disciplined, and trained. It was necessary to organise a commissariat system; to avoid meeting in battle the trained and seasoned troops of Monroe; to guard against surprise. And thus did O'Neill spend the autumn and winter of 1642, training and drilling his men, making good soldiers out of raw levies, avoiding pitched battles, and engaging only in occasional skirmishes, and waiting patiently in his camp at Charlemont until he had an efficient army at his command, and until perhaps the prophecy of Leslie might be fulfilled. [14]

Connaught was, meanwhile, in a ferment. In December, 1641, a meeting of the principal Catholics was held at Ballintubber, at which it was resolved to take up arms, and all bound themselves by oath to maintain the prerogatives of the King, and the rights of Catholics to practise their religion. In the following month, O'Rorke with 1,200 men besieged Castlecoote, near Roscommon, but was so vigourously repelled by young Sir Charles Coote that he was compelled to raise the seige. A desultory war was carried on for some months without anything decisive being done until July, when the President of Connaught, Lord Ranelagh, came from Athlone with all his forces and attacked O'Connor Don at Ballintubber. The Roscommon men were aided by many from Mayo, even women fought in the ranks, but the trained soldiers prevailed over the tumultuous valour of undisciplined troops, and the Irish were defeated with heavy loss. [15] This disaster was followed by others of less moment; but the English were insufficiently supplied with arms and provisions, and unable to pursue the enemy; and, besides, the President was urgently called to Galway. Captain Willoughby, the governor of St. Augustine's Fort, outside the walls of the city, a strong adherent of the Puritan faction, was bent, it seems, on goading the people to madness. Already, more than once, Clanricarde had reconciled the hot-headed captain with the irate townsmen, who were staunch royalists. Some of these latter took an English vessel in the harbour, brought away

[14] Taylor's *Life of Owen Roe O'Neill*, pp. 118-22.
[15] *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 236-9.

all the arms and heavy ordnance it contained, took possession of the town, disarmed all the English within the walls, and bound themselves by oath to defend the royal prerogatives and the Catholic religion. Willoughby got aid by sea from a certain Captain Ashby, who was as violent as himself, and then threatened to turn the guns of the fort on the town. Again Clanricarde made peace. [16] But Willoughby would not have peace. He sent out parties of his soldiers to plunder, hanged some without any apparent cause, robbed many, insulted more, terrorised all in town and country, and set fire to the suburbs. Matters became worse when Lord Forbes landed in Galway, in August. He had with him 17 vessels, an abundance of provisions, and seems to have had a sort of roving commission from the English Parliament to attack the Catholics anywhere he found them. Landing his men, he set fire to all the houses outside the walls, killed men and women indiscriminately, disavowed every arrangement made with the town by Clanricarde, or even by Willoughby. He would have nothing but its unconditional surrender, nor would he listen to the remonstrances of Lord Ranelagh, who was seconding Clanricarde's efforts for peace. The townsmen continued to resist, and Forbes continued the siege, but his provisions began to run short, and it was necessary for him to leave. He took care, however, in a spirit of wanton brutality, to desecrate St. Mary's Church, which was outside the walls, to dig up the graves, and to set fire to the coffins and to the bones they contained. When he had thus glutted his rage, he sailed away to Limerick. [17]

In Clare the Catholics had also risen. The Earl of Thomond, a zealous Protestant, was unable to make headway against them; and by the time Lord Forbes left Galway all the strong places were in the hands of the insurgents, and the Earl himself had quitted the country and gone to England. In June, Limerick surrendered to Lord Muskerry and General Barry, and a good quantity of ammunition and heavy guns was taken, by which they were enabled to capture all the strong castles in Limerick county except

[16] Hardiman's *History of Galway*, pp. 110-15.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Askeaton.[18] At this time, the President of Munster died, and Lord Inchiquin was appointed to the office. He was of the O'Brien family, and educated a Protestant and in hatred of Catholicity; was entirely devoid of mercy or pity; was cruel, coarse, brutal and ferocious, one of the cruellest men in times when there were many such. He had considerable energy and ambition, and no small share of military capacity, and desirous of pursuing the war with vigour, and perhaps of neutralising the effect of the fall of Limerick, he made earnest application to England for supplies. His application was in vain, and equally vain was a similar application he made to Lord Forbes, who had landed in the south of Cork, and was plundering as he went along. Inchiquin had then to rely on the force under the sons of the Earl of Cork, and all he could draw away from the garrisons of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale, and with these he marched through Cork, and encountered the Irish army at Liscarrol. He had but 1,600 men under his command; the Irish had 7,000, and the advantage of position; yet they were disastrously and shamefully beaten, with the loss of 700 men killed, 3 pieces of artillery, 13 colours, 300 muskets and 3 barrels of powder; while on Inchiquin's side the loss between killed and wounded was not more than 40. The victory, however, was not followed by decisive results; the country was wasted; and Inchiquin had to retire to Mallow, and there remain inactive through the winter.[19]

In Leinster, Ormond was created a Marquis, and put in supreme command of the army, subject to none but the King. But the English army at Dublin was ill-supplied with powder, or match, or clothes, or money, or provisions; and two commissioners sent over by the English Parliament were more intent on seducing the soldiers from the King's service than on helping on the war.[20] On the other hand, supplies had come to the Irish from abroad. Colonel Preston, a brother to Lord Gormanstown, a soldier of eminence, who had earned distinction in defending Louvain, had arrived in Wexford, in September, bringing a good supply of arms, ammunition, and heavy ordnance, and 500 officers, who had served in foreign

[18] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., p. 184.
[19] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 203-4.
[20] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 350-3.

wars. And while the Irish were thus receiving supplies, and Irish vessels held the Irish Sea, there was scarcity, and want, and weakness in Dublin. And the great Civil War had broken out in England; for the Parliament would insist that they should appoint the entire Privy Council and all the officers of State; that none of the royal family should get married without the consent of Parliament; that the penal laws against the Catholics should be stringently enforced; and many other conditions so onerous, and so distasteful to the King that, rather than subscribe to them, he would have war, and raised his standard at Nottingham.

For a time of peace the constitution established by the Confederate Catholics was a good one. It established representative government on the broadest basis; and the arrangement by which the executive government was made accountable to a popularly elected assembly was far in advance of the age. But the business of the Confederates was to make war. What was wanted was a close union between all parties under the supreme control of some powerful individual, whose requirements for war all would willingly supply, and whose commands all would obey. Instead of securing this, the Supreme Council appointed no general-in-chief, but appointed four generals, one for each province, each subject to the Supreme Council itself, but each in his own province quite independent. O'Neill commanded in Ulster, Preston in Leinster, Barry in Munster; but in Connaught Burke was appointed only Lieutenant-General, the hope being that Clanricarde would accept the supreme command, though he had already refused it when tendered to him in the previous year by those in arms in Roscommon and Mayo.[21] Lord Mountgarret, the President of the Council, was an old man; his conduct at the battle of Kilrush showed that he had little military capacity; and the reason for choosing him seems to have been that he was a nobleman, and son-in-law to the Earl of Tyrone. But, even if he had been a great general, he had no authority other than his fellow councillors; his position was one of precedency and honour; and had he undertaken the direction of the war he would find himself guided and directed by the other

[21] *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 236-7.

supreme councillors who knew nothing about war. O'Neill was the man best fitted for the chief command, but the jealousy between the new and old Irish prevented his appointment and hence the separate commands. It was unfortunate also that Kilkenny was selected as the seat of government. It was too far especially from Ulster, and it was impossible that the members from that province could regularly attend. And thus it happened that the ruling power fell into the hands of the Catholics of the Pale. Their hearts were not in the war; they had been forced into it by the tyranny of the Puritan Lords Justices, and were ready at any moment to turn back when they got security of their properties, and the barest toleration of their religion. They had no desire to break with England; it was the country from which their ancestors had come; they were loyal to the King, and ready to make any sacrifices in his service; and they had no desire whatever to see the old Irish restored to the lands from which their ancestors had been driven. Some of themselves were planters, and the secretary of the Supreme Council—Belling—was the son of him who had helped to plunder the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and who had with others been a sharer in the plunder. [22]

To these causes of disorganization and weakness must be added the sinister influence of the Marquis of Ormond. Born in 1607 and inheriting large family estates, his possessions were still further augmented by his marriage with his relative, Lady Elizabeth Preston, the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Desmond. [23] The young Earl came to Ireland in 1633 and soon took a prominent part in the Parliamentary debates, and became the personal friend of the Earl of Strafford, and a trusted adviser of the King, who appointed him to command the army in Ireland.[24] This position he held subject to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Leicester, who never came to Ireland, but who, to the disgust of Ormond, interfered in the affairs of the Irish army. This state of things ceased when Ormond got the supreme command, subject only to the King. It was at the same time he became a Marquis. His father

[22] Belling's *History of the Irish Confederation*, Vol. I., pp. 167-216.
[23] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 349-50, 355-6.
[24] Carte, Vol. I., p. 193.

and grandfather were Catholics, but he himself had been early taken in charge by the Protestants in England—made a ward of the courts, and brought up a strong Protestant, and in bitter hatred of the Catholic faith, a hatred which he never failed to manifest throughout his career. In war his talents were respectable, but were far greater in diplomacy. He could be suave or stern as the occasion demanded; knew how to conceal his feelings and to estimate the capacity of his opponents; and though he hated the Catholics, and would grant them no privileges, and little toleration, he was ready to negotiate with them, and to pretend friendship with them.

With the Supreme Council he found it easy to establish relations. His brother was a colonel in the Catholic army; his two sisters were nuns; he was the nephew of Lord Mountgarret, and the brother-in-law of one of the Munster generals, Lord Muskerry; and one of the other members of the Supreme Council, Dr. Fennel, had been his family physician.[25] In addition to this Kilkenny had always been the centre of the Ormond power; his family influence soon made itself felt within the Supreme Council, and a party appeared there anxious to make terms with him. Under the influence of this party, which acquired the name of the Ormond faction, negotiations were opened, but for a long time without result. As far back as the month of March, 1642, the Connaught insurgents had proposed a cessation of the war to Clanricarde; the following May, the Lords of the Pale, with Clanricarde's approval, proposed a general cessation; and this latter proposition was renewed in July, and again, with all the authority of the Supreme Council, in the October following. But the Irish Council wanted no cessation, and refused to send the Catholic petition to the King, nor was it until Ormond communicated with his Majesty, that the Council sent the petition, and then with a recommendation that it should be rejected. But the King's affairs in England were not prospering; he rejected the advice thus given, knowing the Irish Council to be his enemies, and in January, 1643, he commissioned Ormond and Clanricarde to treat with the rebels. Ormond then

[25] Taylor's *Owen Roe O'Neill*, pp. 132-7; *The Unkind Deserter, vide* Bishop French's works.

sent a message to Mountgarret that he was ready to hear what the Confederates had to say; and he haughtily told him that among their agents there should be no ecclesiastics; and that these agents should come humbly before the King's Commissioners with that respect which ought to be given to such as were honoured with his Majesty's Commission.[26] Some further correspondence there was, some quibbling about words and phrases; but these difficulties were smoothed over; the Confederates adopted a more submissive tone; Ormond abated somewhat his haughty bearing; and it was agreed that the Confederate agents and the Commissioners should meet at Trim on the 17th of March following.[27]

Averse to any cessation, and desirous to employ the army which was in want of food at Dublin, the Lords Justices sent Ormond, early in March, to capture Ross. He had an army of 3,000 men, but was so well resisted by the garrison that he was compelled to raise the siege. There was special reason for his doing so, for General Preston was marching to the relief of the town with nearly 7,000 men. He endeavoured to intercept Ormond's retreat, and the two armies met at Old Ross. The advantage of numbers and of position was on Preston's side, for Ormond should march through a narrow pass, in which not more than four horsemen could ride abreast. Yet instead of profiting by these advantages, Preston rushed impetuously into the open, and was shamefully defeated with the loss of 500 men, and Ormond was then free to return to Dublin. Nothing but the utter stupidity of Preston saved him and his army from defeat, and even from annihilation.[28]

But this victory effected nothing more than to ensure Ormond's safe retreat. His army was too scantily supplied to undertake further operations, still less to gain further victories, and the conference, as arranged, met at Trim. There was much debate, and many letters passed between Ormond and the King, and between Ormond and the Confederates; and in all these it is easy to see the submissiveness and even slavishness of the Confederates, the insincerity and bigotry of Ormond, and the duplicity of the

[26] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 390-6.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 398.
[28] Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, pp. 35-6.

King.[29] Some minor points indeed the King was ready to concede, but he would not consent to the repeal of the penal laws, and Ormond advised that he should not, and rebuked the Confederates for making such a demand. [30] More eager for peace than Ormond, the King urged him to conclude a cessation, but he urged in vain; the negotiations were broken off in June, and Ormond took the field against Preston, though he effected nothing, and when he was again urged by Charles to have peace, he resumed the negotiations. Further delays there were, and more quibbling, nor was it until September that a cessation was agreed to for a year. [31] During that period, Dublin, Louth, Meath and Kildare were to be exclusively occupied by the Protestants, except such towns and castles as were then occupied by Confederate troops. On the other hand, Wicklow, Westmeath, King's and Queen's counties, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford and Longford were to be in Catholic hands, except those towns and castles then held by the King's troops. Similar arrangements were made for the other provinces. Crops sown and captured by an enemy were to revert to the sower on payment of a small sum. Trade and traffic were to be free; and if any refused to observe the cessation, the Catholic Bishops were to aid in putting them down, but if the Catholics on their part demanded similar aid, Ormond only promised to lay their complaints before the King. Lastly—and for the King this was a most important proviso—the Confederates agreed to give him a sum of £30,000. [32]

In such an arrangement the advantages were all on the King's side, and it is easy to see how superior in diplomatic ability Ormond was to his opponents. The English army at Dublin, in the early part of the year, were in the greatest distress, ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-clad; and the committee of the English Parliament at Dublin had nothing to offer them in lieu of pay and arrears but lands which were to be forfeited by those in rebellion; and the soldiers

[29] Cox, pp. 130-3. At these interviews Ormond remained seated with his hat on, while Gormanstown and Muskerry had to stand, and remain uncovered.

[30] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 409-10, Vol. III., p. 150.

[31] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 439-40, 451-3, Vol III., pp. 174-6.

[32] Cox, Appendix 16.

thought this a hard condition for them to venture their lives on.[33] In March the same story had to be told. The soldiers had neither powder, match, money, or victuals; with difficulty Ormond kept their officers from going to England; and the soldiers, driven to desperation, pursued the Lords Justices through the streets, clamouring for their pay, and, not getting it, plundered some of the citizens.[34] At the very time the cessation was agreed to their condition was the same. And not in Dublin only but throughout Ireland they had neither shoes, stockings, hats nor shirts, nor provisions, nor money in the treasury; they had little hope of relief; they were dispirited and incapable of performing any service; nor was there need of any other enemy but hunger and cold to devour them.[35] Attached to the English Parliament, the Lords Justices would not put the army in an efficient condition, though they wanted the war to continue. Parsons especially had given so many proofs of disloyalty to the King, that he was dismissed from office in April, and Sir Henry Tichborne appointed in his place, and three months later, he was thrown into prison, because he had tried to seduce the army from the side of the King.[36] On similar charges three other members of the Council were imprisoned, Loftus, Meredith and Temple, the last-named having got the custodiam of the mills at Kilmainham, and having greatly enriched himself by charging excessive toll on grain, while the army was starving.[37] Such, then, was the condition of the King's government in Ireland—the army hungry, naked and mutinous, some of the highest officials disaffected, others guilty of peculation, the treasury empty. Nor could the King lend any aid; for the struggle between the King and Parliament was still doubtful; and to still further darken the King's prospects the Parliament had joined hands with the Scotch, and had entered into a solemn League and Covenant, binding themselves to join their forces for the extirpation of Catholicity in the three kingdoms,

[33] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 384-6.
[34] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 240-1, 253-4.
[35] Carte, pp. 419-20, 459-61.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 420-1.
[37] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp 306-7, Carte, Vol. I., pp. 441-2.

and the establishment of a Presbyterian form of Church government; and in accordance with this arrangement the Scots sent an army into England. [38]

But while the King was thus menaced with fresh dangers, and his government at Dublin was weak, the Confederate Catholics were strong. In the previous year they had shown much energy; had raised taxes; taken off the duty on imported corn; appointed generals of the army; set up a printing press; and sent agents abroad to solicit assistance, to France, to the Emperor, to the Pope, to Bavaria and to Holland. [39] General Preston also was especially active, and, with Lord Castlehaven in command of the cavalry, overran King's County. In attempting to capture Ballinakill he was defeated by Colonel Monk, and more seriously still by Ormond at Old Ross; but he was not seriously weakened, and was enabled to capture Ballinakill in April, and in the months that followed he held all the places he had won. [40] In Munster Inchiquin was so straitened for supplies that he took all the cattle, corn and provisions round Cork and Youghal, and the goods from the merchants, though these inhabitants were all under his protection; and in the month of May, the English met with the most crushing disaster they had yet sustained. Sir Charles Vavasour, on his march to Waterford, was attacked at Kilworth near Fermoy by Lords Muskerry and Castlehaven, and disgracefully defeated, himself and 600 men being taken prisoners, and cannon, arms and baggage fell into the hands of the victors. [41] In Connaught Clanricarde still held aloof from the Confederates; but his power was becoming less; Athenry had revolted from him, and his castle of Claregalway was taken. About the same time, Ranelagh, the President, unable to subsist at Athlone, abandoned the province and returned to Dublin, having to fight his way through an army of 3,000 men.[42] In the month of June, Galway surrendered to General Burke; Clanricarde's strong castle of Oranmore was also captured; and by the end of June the whole province was in Catholic hands,

[38] Lang's *Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 109.
[39] Carte, Vol. I., p. 370.
[40] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 380-2; Cox, p. 127.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 425-6, 431-2.
[42] *Ibia.*, Vol. I., p. 383.

except a few castles in Roscommon, and Clanricarde's castles of Loughrea and Portumna.[43] In Ulster there was no important event. O'Neill was gradually getting together an army and providing for their needs, but avoiding any general engagement. He could not, however, entirely avoid the enemy, and in June narrowly escaped being captured by Monroe. About the same time Lords Montgomery and Moore swept over Monaghan and Armagh, and O'Neill retired for safety to Longford and Leitrim. On his march he was attacked by Stewart near Clones, and defeated with some loss; but he received fresh supplies from the Supreme Council, and in a few days was again able to take the field.[44] Thus were the Confederates strong in every province; and it was while they were strong they made terms with Ormond, and commenced to negotiate for peace with a king on whose word no man could rely; whose perfidy had been already proved in the time of Strafford; and who was not in a condition to carry out any promise he made, even had he been so inclined.

Neither the old Irish nor the Scotch army in Ulster favoured the cessation. The former had not, indeed, been consulted; and the latter, after the agreement entered into between their countrymen at home and the Parliamentarians, went over to the Parliamentary side. Monroe denounced the cessation; and against Ormond's express wish his army took the Covenant, and captured Belfast for the Parliament.[45] Inchiquin in Munster followed Monroe's example, and went over to the Parliament, piqued because the King had appointed Lord Portland to the Presidency of Munster. Lord Desmond, the commander of Duncannon, also abandoned the King, and early in the next year attempts were made to capture Dublin, and Drogheda, and Dundalk for the Parliament, though these attempts were foiled by Ormond.[46] He had been appointed Lord Lieutenant in January, and as a result of the cessation, had already sent about 3,000 men

[43] Carte, pp. 429-31.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 433-4.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 486-90, 496-8; Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VII., pp. 170-1.
[46] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 513-14, 525-8.

to England to aid the King. They had not been fortunate, and though they were Protestants, they had been treated in England with the same indignity as if they were mere Papists. Some few deserted to the Parliament; the greater part were defeated by Fairfax at Nantwich, losing all their artillery, ammunition and baggage, 1,200 of them being taken prisoners.[47] Nor was the King averse to employing Catholic troops; and when the Earl of Antrim, a strong Catholic and Royalist, offered him in England to obtain large numbers of Irish troops for his service, he created him a Marquis and sent him to Ireland. But it soon appeared that Antrim promised more than he could perform; nor was he able to send more than 1,600 men to Scotland, where for the next two years they served with great distinction under Montrose.[48]

In the meantime, negotiations for a peace were being carried on between the Confederates and the King, who was then at Oxford, and there received a deputation from the Supreme Council. The Confederates demanded freedom of their religion and repeal of the penal laws, an act of oblivion for all acts done during the rebellion, security of their estates, freedom to attend the University and the Inns of Court, the abolition of the Court of Wards, the independence of the Irish Parliament; and as they had been taxed with inhuman cruelties during the rebellion, they asked for an impartial inquiry, the guilty on either side to be suitably punished. The King was in a difficulty, for any concessions he made would be magnified, and toleration of Catholicity was then regarded as treason to the State.

And lest they might get any concessions, Sir Charles Coote and some Protestants went over from Ireland, and demanded for the Catholics more penal laws and more confiscations; that nobody could hold office without taking the Oath of Supremacy; that no Catholic should be allowed to vote; and that all Catholic priests be banished from Ireland.[49] The King's answer to the Confederates

[47] Carte, pp. 471-4, 481. Worse than theirs was the fate of 150 men who were being sent by Ormond to Bristol. They were captured at sea by a Parliament vessel, under Captain Swanley, and seventy of them, tied back to back, were hurled into the sea.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 482; Lang's *Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 120-159.

[49] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 500-2.

was that on some minor points they should take his word for the redress of their grievance, and the value of this they already knew; the points about the university he granted; but he would not suspend Poyning's Law, nor repeal the penal laws, though he would see that they were not put in force. And he begged of them to consider his circumstances; that he could not with safety to himself grant them more; and that, if they should be satisfied, and assist him in recovering his rights, he would be for ever grateful.[50] This answer on their return they laid before the General Assembly. By that time, Ormond had got a commission from the King to treat for a peace, or for a further cessation. Such, however, was his hatred of the clergy, that he would negotiate with no ecclesiastic; and instead of the Supreme Council resenting his conduct, and declaring war, as men of spirit would have done, they meekly appointed all laymen to wait upon him, but with no useful result, except that the cessation was still further renewed.[51] Rather than grant their terms, Ormond offered to resign the Viceroyalty; nor was he less yielding in May, 1645, when the negotiations were resumed.[52] The battle of Naseby had then reduced the King to the last extremity; the only hope left was to conciliate the Irish Catholics; and in October he absolutely commanded Ormond to make terms. Yet, he refused to obey these commands, and instead was making overtures to Monroe; and the agents of the Supreme Council, after interminable arguments and delays, left Dublin, in November, without having concluded peace.[53]

Convinced that Ormond would not conciliate the Catholics, and that neither entreaty nor commands could change him, the King ordered the Earl of Glamorgan to proceed to Ireland. He was son to the Marquis of Worcester; was much devoted to the royal cause; was a Catholic in religion; and by marriage was connected with the Irish family of the O'Briens. These qualifications would naturally prepossess the Irish in his favour. But the King did not wish to alienate Ormond—he had enemies enough already—and he bade Glamorgan consult him; but subject to this proviso he

[50] Carte, pp. 507-8. [51] *Ibid.*, pp. 517-23.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 541-2. [53] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 549, Vol. III., p. 431.

JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF ORMOND

FROM THE PAINTING BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER—IN THE COLLECTION OF THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF STRATHMORE

was free to act.[54] His instructions from the King were secret, and he was authorised to go further than Ormond had gone. Thus instructed, he presented himself at Kilkenny in the end of August and concluded a treaty with the Confederates by which the Catholics were to enjoy the free and public exercise of their religion; all the Churches in Ireland, except those actually in Protestant hands; and they should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy. Glamorgan engaged the King's word that these articles should be carried out; while the Irish, on their side, were to send to England an army of 10,000 men to fight for the royal cause.[55] The treaty was to be kept secret until the Irish army was ready. But, in the October following, the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam was killed near Sligo, and among his papers was found a copy of Glamorgan's treaty. There was consternation in the Irish Council; and a strongly worded protest was drawn up by Ormond and the members, and sent to the Secretary of State, in which it was declared that the treaty contained matter of scandal to his Majesty, of infinite detriment to his power and authority; that it involved the abandonment of the King's spiritual supremacy and the ruin of the Protestants of Ireland. A garbled and mutilated copy of the treaty was published by the English Parliament; it was pointed to as proof of the King's perfidy and his readiness to betray his Protestant subjects; and Glamorgan was thrown into prison at Dublin, and accused of high treason. This farce was not continued; for Glamorgan showed that he was only carrying out the King's orders, and produced the King's warrant for what he had done. For a short time he was kept in restraint and then he was given his liberty. Such was the condition of Ireland in the last days of 1645, the Catholics expectant and yielding, the Protestants intolerant, Ormond most intolerant of all, and Glamorgan's intervention confusing a situation, already sufficiently confused.[56]

[54] Carte, *Papers* (King to Ormond, January, 1646)

[55] Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, pp. 96-8.

[56] Cox, pp. 152-5—Appendix No. 27; Meehan, pp. 120-28; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, 426-7; Carte, Vol. I., pp. 555-7. Carte is quite satisfied that the King's warrant was a forgery, but his arguments are not convincing.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Papal Nuncio.

It was while the question of a cessation was debated that, in July 1643, an envoy arrived in Ireland from the Pope, whose name was Father Peter Scarampi. He brought letters to the Bishops, to the generals of the army, and to the Supreme Council, also large supplies of arms and ammunition, and 30,000 dollars in money.[1] Coming from a land where religion was free and flourishing, he felt the deepest sympathy for the Irish Catholics in their struggle for religious freedom; and with such dispositions his sympathies were with those who opposed the cessation, and who had little faith in the King, and still less in Ormond.[2] He saw that Ormond's promises were vague and worthless; that he was not sincere; and that at every step his bigotry stood in the way of granting any public toleration of Catholicity. And Scarampi thought that the Catholics having taken up arms, ought not to be satisfied with the mere toleration of their religion, or permission to practice it by stealth. Not for this had so much blood been spilled. He was fearless in giving expression to his views, which he knew to be the views of Rome; but the Ormondists had possessed themselves of the Supreme Council, and, though quite ready to take money from the Pope, were not ready to take the advice of his envoy. They were thinking

[1] Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, pp. 74-5.
[2] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 447-8.

more of their estates than of their religion, of Ormond than of the Pope; resented the outspokenness of Scarampi; disregarded his advice; and spent their time in negotiations rather than in war.[3] The results of such a policy were easy to foresee. The confidence engendered by their early victories gave way to depression, their enthusiasm to apathy and indifference. Seeking for a phantom peace, they forgot or neglected their armies; the forts in their possession were in ruins; their soldiers were ill-provided for; and while they remained inactive, the Puritans had become strong and aggressive, neither agreeing to nor bound by any cessation or treaty with Ormond. And when the Supreme Council determined to organise their strength against Monroe in Ulster, it was not to the experienced hands of O'Neill they committed their army, but to Lord Castlehaven, who had little experience, and no great skill in war. And he had to complain that the men were raw and inexperienced, the horses hardly able to draw their legs after them, and both horse and foot with rusty arms.[4] With such an army, and such a general, little could be done. Meantime, both in Ireland and England, the Parliament had grown strong; at any moment fresh troops might come from England; and if this happened the ruin of the Catholics would be near. The Supreme Council felt alarmed, and in the early days of 1645, sent envoys to Spain and Rome to seek assistance. "Their design was that they might know themselves what they had to trust to, and what succours they might depend on from abroad; and that in case they should be forced to serve God again in holes and corners, the world might know they had laboured all they could to prevent that misfortune."[5] Their messenger to Rome was Belling, the Secretary to the Supreme Council. Ostensibly his mission was to congratulate the new Pope, Innocent X.; but his chief purpose was to procure further aid, not only from the Pope, but also from the Catholic princes of Italy.[6] Neither he nor the Supreme Council wished that any fresh envoy would come from Rome—Scarampi,

[3] Rinnucini's Letters, p. 235.
[4] Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, p. 47.
[5] Carte, Vol. I., p. 529.
[6] Meehan, p. 92.

they thought, was more than enough—but the Pope was impressed with the greatness of the struggle the Irish were making, and resolved to send greater aid than he had yet sent, and to send an ecclesiastic of high rank, with the title and powers of Nuncio.

For this position he selected John Baptist Rinnuccini, Archbishop of Firmo. A native of Rome, and of noble parents, he was a man of strong will, of great piety, and of the purest motives. At the time of arriving in Ireland, he was a little more than 50 years of age. The Pope instructed him to beware of those timid Catholics who would be content with the private celebration of the Mass; to insist on the free and public exercise of religion; to reform the clergy, and recommend suitable persons for the episcopacy. He was specially warned against Ormond, and the cessation and peace with him were condemned. But while the Nuncio was to see that the Catholics entered into no disadvantageous peace, he was not to encourage them to strive for national independence, but rather to advise them to be faithful to the King and aid him against the Puritans. In return, the King was to revoke all penal laws against the Catholics, to abolish the Oath of Supremacy, to admit them to all public offices. In order to secure these conditions all fortresses in Ireland were to be put into Catholic hands.[7] In April the Nuncio left Genoa, passed through Paris, where he saw Cardinal Mazarin; left Nantes in October in the frigate San Pietro; was chased at sea for a hundred miles by a Parliamentary vessel, and narrowly escaped capture; and finally landed safely at Kenmare. He was accompanied by Belling, and brought with him a good supply of arms and ammunition, as well as some money. Passing on to Limerick, he proceeded to Kilkenny.[8] His reception was enthusiastic. Outside the city he was met by the nobility and gentry; 50 scholars came specially to compliment him; and one of them, crowned with laurel, and more richly dressed than the others, read some verses in his honour. The magistrates met him at the city gates; the clergy headed the procession through the streets; the whole route to

[7] Rinnuccini's Letters—Introduction.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

the cathedral was lined with soldiers, and filled with cheering crowds. But the President of the Council did not share this enthusiasm; and when the Nuncio visited him he rose from his seat, but did not advance. The vain old man, who was ready to grovel before Ormond, thus haughtily received the Nuncio, and assumed the airs and deportment of a king.[9]

While at Paris, in August, the Nuncio had got letters from Scarampi warning him of the eagerness with which the Supreme Council sought for peace, and telling him that the peace with Ormond, if concluded, would be fatal;[10] and the Nuncio from personal observation in Ireland soon found that this view was sound, and that further negotiations in this direction had better cease. It was necessary that the Catholics should adopt vigorous measures without delay. Many things called urgently for reform. The Supreme Council, though quite ignorant of military tactics, insisted on directing all military operations; the money raised for the army was not accounted for, and the pay of the soldiers was in arrear; the distribution of the army was stupidly arranged; nor was there any cordial co-operation among the generals. In Munster Preston and Castlehaven quarrelled; in Ulster Owen Roe and Sir Phelim O'Neill;[11] and in Connaught, as there was no general to lead, the Archbishop of Tuam had assumed command, and in doing so had lost his life.[12] There was no foresight, and no care; and when Preston captured the fortress of Duncannon, he took no trouble to put it in a state of repair, nor was this done until ordered by the Nuncio, who appreciated the importance of the place.[13] Yet, instead of setting right what was wrong, instead of consolidating their strength in face of the increasing strength of the Puritans, from whom no mercy was to be expected, the Nuncio found many still anxious for further and futile negotiations. Weariness, self-interest, want of money, respect for the King, inclined many for peace. The old bishops who had passed through persecution took

[9] Rinnuccini, pp. 90-2.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[11] Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, Vol. I., pp. 96-7.
[12] Rinnuccini, pp. 138-40.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

little interest in passing events. They had been accustomed to discharge their religious functions in secret, and often administered sacraments without mitre or stole. They made little account of the splendour of religion, and would have been content to get permission to practise it in secret. The regular clergy were even worse. Living out of their convents, they did not wear the distinctive dress of their orders, and were bound by no monastic discipline; nor had they any desire for the public celebration of religion, and the establishment and observance of monastic rule.[14]

Certainly the situation was complex. Ormond had been ordered by the King, in January, 1645, to make peace with the Catholics, on the basis of abrogating the penal laws, but he concealed these instructions, though he continued to negotiate with the Catholics; and he received sums of money from them, though he had much more sympathy with the Puritans than with them.[15] The Queen had sent Sir Kenelm Digby to Rome to negotiate for peace through the Pope, and she sent Father Leyburne to Ireland on a similar errand. She was naturally anxious to obtain Catholic support for her husband, and, as a Catholic, anxious to give the Catholics religious freedom; yet she resented the action of the Nuncio, and thought he was demanding too much. Lord Digby, the King's Secretary of State, had come to Dublin, hoping to bring about peace, and obtain aid for the royal cause. There was finally the Earl of Glamorgan, with letters from the King, in which his Majesty undertook to sanction any agreement he made on the word of a king and a Christian; giving him also a letter to the Nuncio, which his Majesty admitted was the first he wrote to a minister of the Pope, but hoped it would not be the last.[16] Yet, when Glamorgan made peace with the Catholics he was arrested by Ormond and thrown into prison. Digby declared that if the English people thought the King would consent to give the Catholics such terms, they would be prepared to fling him out of the window; and Charles, fearing

[14] Rinnuccini, pp. 93, 132, 141-2.

[15] Meehan, p. 93.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 104 "Etant la premiere que nous avons ecrite a quelconque ministre d'etat du Pape, esperant que cella ne sera pas la derniere."

public opinion, denied he gave any commission to Glamorgan, and denounced both him and the treaty he had made.[17] Yet Glamorgan was not punished, but allowed to go back to Kilkenny; and Ormond made apologies to the Supreme Council for having imprisoned him.[18]

There did not seem to be any room left for further negotiation, and the Nuncio was anxious that war should be at once resumed, that Dublin should be attacked, as just then it could offer no effective resistance, and must necessarily have fallen.[19] But the Ormondists on the Supreme Council were not to be baulked. They continued the cessation and insisted that a General Assembly should be called; and when that body met, in January, 1646, the whole question of peace and war was debated and discussed. The Nuncio, and the clergy, and the old Irish were on one side; the nobility and gentry of the Pale on the other; the former thinking of religion, the latter more intent on preserving their estates, and satisfied to accept the lesser terms offered by Ormond in default of the better terms agreed to by Glamorgan.[20] They pointed out that urgency was necessary; that Ormond's powers to negotiate expired on the 1st of April; that the King was in the last extremity. The Nuncio answered that Ormond's powers could easily be renewed; and he asked at least that they should wait until Digby returned from Rome with the treaty entered into by the Pope and Queen.[21] But Digby did not come. The Ormondists, who commanded a majority in the Assembly, insisted that peace should in the meantime be made with Ormond; and they approved in advance of the Papal treaty, Glamorgan undertaking again that the King would consent to the Papal peace, as well as to Ormond's peace. On this understanding, the peace with Ormond was signed, on the 28th of March, by which the Confederates were to send 10,000 men to the King's assistance. In return, the Catholics were no longer bound to take the Oath of Supremacy; nor be disqualified from holding civil or

[17] Meehan, p. 494.
[18] Rinnuccini, p. 113.
[19] Meehan, pp. 126-7.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[21] Rinnuccini, pp. 125-8.

military offices, nor from sitting in Parliament; further plantations were to cease, and some of those already made were to be void. There were many other articles, 30 in all, which were to be transmitted to England, where there was little chance of their being passed. Many things were left to the discretion of the King; nor was there any provision for the free and public exercise of religion.[22] Powerless to prevent the concluding of this treaty, the Nuncio had, in February, induced the Bishops to protest against any peace which failed to guarantee the public exercise of religion, the restoration of church property, and the appointment of a Catholic Viceroy.[23] He also induced the Assembly to agree that the peace was not to be published until May, pending the arrival and sanction of the Papal treaty. Until that date the cessation rather than a formal and avowed peace was to continue.[24]

But in the meantime the situation had altered. Sir Kenelm Digby did not come with any Papal treaty, and the Queen changed her mind, and was satisfied to leave everything to Ormond.[25] The King had again repudiated Glamorgan; his last stronghold, Chester Castle, was in the hands of the Puritans; his power was utterly broken; and in the following May he surrendered to the Scots at Newark. There was then no meaning in sending Irish troops to England. Nor ought they to leave Ireland, for the cause of the Confederate Catholics was menaced with many dangers. In Munster Inchiquin was again active, and was sweeping through the province, murdering the inhabitants, burning their houses, and destroying their crops.[26] The Earl of Thomond, hitherto inactive, now declared for the Parliament, and a Parliamentary force sailed up the Shannon, and took possession of his castle of Bunratty. In Connaught Sir Charles Coote had conquered Sligo and Roscommon, and advanced as far as Portumna; and in Ulster Monroe was so strong that he overawed the whole province, and was able to send assistance by way of Sligo to Coote in his work of conquering and

[22] Mahaffy's *Calendar* (1633-47), pp. 442-3.
[23] Meehan, p. 137.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 143; Carte, Vol. I., p. 569.
[25] Meehan, p. 144.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

desolating Connaught. Nor could Ormond be induced to do anything. Appealed to by Clanricarde to declare Coote a rebel, he refused; and though he promised to proceed against the Scots in the east of Ulster, and got £3,000 from the Supreme Council for the purpose, he refused to carry out his promise.[27] Fortunately for the Confederates, the General Assembly was dissolved early in April, else all their energies would have been wasted in debate. A small council of only nine members was appointed. The new council appointed four of its members to consult with the Nuncio on military matters, and at once more activity was displayed. Lord Castlehaven was sent with 1,000 light cavalry into Munster, and hung menacingly on Inchiquin's flanks; and that nobleman had to betake himself to the shelter of the garrison towns. Bunratty was besieged in April by Lord Glamorgan; but as he failed to capture it, he was superseded by Lord Muskerry, with whom the Nuncio himself went, and so encouraged and animated the besiegers that, after twelve days, the garrison surrendered, and were allowed to depart to their vessels at Cork. At the same time, Preston was sent with 3,000 men into Connaught; and though Clanricarde did not co-operate with him, as was expected, he was able to defeat Coote, and captured Roscommon.[28]

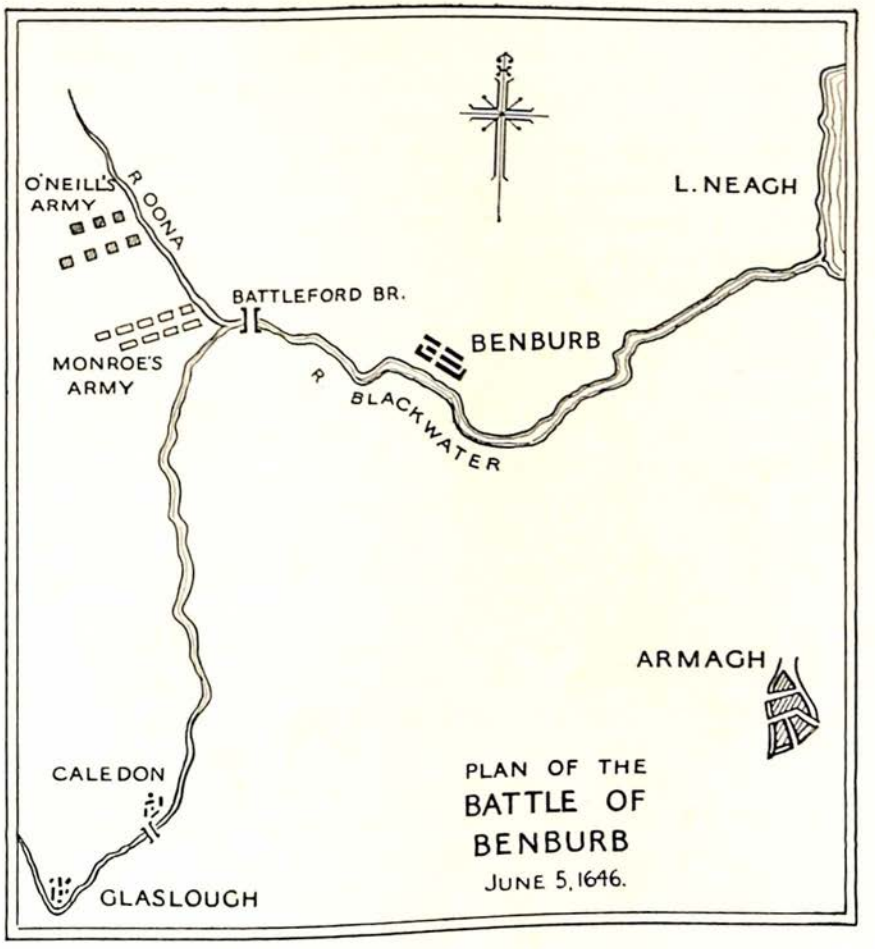
But, important as these events were, and encouraging for the Confederates, they were entirely overshadowed by what took place in Ulster. To make headway against the Puritans it was necessary that efforts should be made in each of the provinces to put the Confederates in a state of efficiency; but the Nuncio was determined that special attention should be paid to Ulster. The Puritan forces were strongest there—they had the greatest part of the province in their power—and they were in easy communication with Scotland. On the other hand, no army was so devoted to the Catholic cause as that of O'Neill, and of all the generals he was incomparably the ablest. It was easier also to equip his troops, easier to satisfy their wants, for while Preston's soldiers insisted on being well and regularly paid, O'Neill's men cared little for money. They had

[27] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 567-70; Rinnuccini, pp. 160-2.
[28] Meehan, p. 147.

few wants, eat but little bread, drank milk, and very rarely usquebagh; if they had shoes,a woollen cloak, and a few utensils, they were satisfied, and were more careful of their swords and muskets than of their personal comforts.[29] The money and arms which the Nuncio had brought to Ireland, and which were still undivided at Kilkenny, would go farther on these Ulstermen than others, and would be better used, and at first he resolved to give all his supplies to them. However, to prevent jealousy, he gave two-thirds to General Preston, and the remainder to the Ulster army.

In May General O'Neill had his headquarters near Cavan, and with the supplies lately received, he had an army of 5,000 foot and 500 horse of " good hopeful men." [30] He had an eye on Connaught, but feared to transfer his forces there, and just then was watching the Ulster Scots, and barring their way from Ulster into Leinster. General Robert Monroe was at Carrickfergus with the main army; his brother George was at Coleraine with a small force; while Stewart, with the Lagan forces, was somewhere near Derry; and early in June O'Neill was informed that the forces at Carrickfergus were in motion, and that their destiny was Glaslough in Monaghan. Monroe was taking advantage of Preston's absence in Connaught, and was to join his brother and Stewart with all his strength, and falling upon O'Neill, crush him with the weight of superior numbers. Then he could march on Kilkenny, and break up the Confederation; after which he could join hands with Inchiquin; and the task of crushing Muskerry in the south, and Preston in the west, would be easy. This done, they could overwhelm Ormond, and capture the city of Dublin. With 6,000 foot and 600 horse, well-equipped, and with abundance of supplies, Monroe set out from Carrickfergus, and by the 5th of June was to be at Glaslough, where he was to meet his brother and Stewart. But O'Neill could not hope to stand against so great an army as this, and, resolving to take the enemy in detail, he anticipated Monroe's movements, and reached Glaslough on the 4th of June, and without delay advanced along the Blackwater, and pitched his camp near Benburb. Late on the same

[29] Meehan, pp. 140-1; Rinnuccini, p. 495.
[30] Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, Vol. I., p. 673. (O'Neill to Ormond.)



[*To face page 285.*

night, after a long and weary march, Monroe reached Armagh, and early on the morning of the 5th his whole army was in motion, his intention being to cross the Blackwater. But the passage at Battleford Bridge was strongly held by the Irish, and he had to retrace his steps along the right bank of the river, while O'Neill's army marched on the opposite bank; nor was it until he reached Caledon that Monroe could cross. His passage was not disputed, and then both armies stood facing each other on the left bank of the river. The Scots advanced; the Irish retreated, fighting; the advance of the enemy was thus delayed, and not until two o'clock in the afternoon did the Irish reach the ground selected by O'Neill for battle. "All our men," says Monroe, "did earnestly covet fighting, which was for me impossible to gainstand without reproach of cowardice." [31] The Irish were equally eager, and were reminded by their general that those who stood before them had banished themselves, their wives and children from their lands and houses, and compelled them to earn their bread in foreign lands. Against these insolent foreigners, who sought to destroy them, "bud and branch," they were fighting for the land their ancestors owned for 3,000 years, and for the religion which they professed since the dawn of Christianity in Ireland. "Your word," he said, "is Sancta Maria, and so in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost advance, and give not fire till you are within pike length." The whole army had previously received the sacraments; religion was consecrating their efforts, and they felt that they were the army of God.

The position selected by O'Neill was specially favourable for defence. His left wing was protected by the little river Oona, which here forms a junction with the Blackwater; his centre was a hill covered with scrogs and bushes; on his right was a bog. He formed his army into seven divisions, four in front, and three in the rere, with wide spaces between the first divisions, so that those behind might step into the openings, if need be. Monroe, on the other hand, had formed his army into nine divisions, five in front and four in the rere; but the spaces between the front divisions were

[31] Gilbert, Vol I., p. 678.

too narrow to admit the divisions in the rere. He had, however, the advantage of numbers, and he had artillery, which the Irish had not. But though O'Neill had the better position, and had his forces better disposed, he was in no hurry to begin the fight, and for five hours he spent the time skirmishing, He had two reasons for this. Almost all his cavalry had been sent under Brian O'Neill and O'Doherty to check George Monroe as he approached from Coleraine, and in addition, the sun shone in the faces of his men; and the enemy had, therefore, the advantage not only of numbers, but also of the sun and wind. A third reason was that the Scots were wearied after their long march, and the long hours of skirmishing would weary them still more. But at 7 o'clock in the evening, the sun shone full in the faces of the Scots, and the Irish cavalry were seen returning, having done their work well, and having not only checked the advance of George Monroe, but driven him back in confusion.

Meanwhile the Scots had tried, without success, to cross the Oona, and turn the Irish left; the artillery played upon the Irish centre, but the scrogs and bushes protected the men so well that little damage was suffered; and O'Neill, satisfied of the strength of his left and centre, increased his forces on the right, and gradually forced the enemy into the narrow angle between the waters of the Oona and the Blackwater. With such large numbers crowded into so narrow a space there was some confusion which was augmented when they saw the Irish cavalry return, for they had been looking for George Monroe instead. At last the great leader, who had so patiently laid his plans, and so carefully selected his ground, saw that the decisive moment had come. Then the word "Sancta Maria" was passed along the line, and in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost the men were ordered to charge for the old land. Like an avalanche let loose, the Irish crashed upon the foe, their charge all the more impetuous because their valour was so long restrained. The Scotch cavalry dashed down on the Irish foot, only in turn to be charged by the cavalry on the Irish side. The first line of the Scots was driven in on the second; the Irish officers dismounted from their horses, and, pike in hand, rushed on the enemy's guns and captured them. There was no

longer any resistance, and pike, and skean, and sword were busy dealing destruction on the foe. The victory was complete. No less than 3,248 dead were left on the field; many others were drowned in trying to cross the river, others in the pursuit; and baggage, cannon, arms, colours, tents, 1,500 draught horses, and provisions for two months, fell into the hands of the victors. Monroe, without hat or cloak, fled with the remnant of his army to Lisburn; Lord Montgomery and about 70 others were taken prisoners, the small number of these being accounted for by the fact that neither side gave quarter. When Sir Phelim O'Neill was asked to give a list of his prisoners he answered he had none, as he had killed them all. It was a crushing victory, especially when it is remembered that the Irish loss was but 70; and its effects were that the Coleraine forces hurriedly fell back; the Lagan forces were glad to find shelter within the walls of Derry; and Monroe fled in terror from Lisburn to Portadown, and took refuge in Carrickfergus.[32]

There was jubilation among the Confederates. The Nuncio was at Limerick, and on the 15th of the following month received the news of the great victory, receiving at the same time the standards taken in the battle. Borne along the streets of the city, which was filled with cheering crowds, they were deposited in the Cathedral, where a solemn Mass of thanksgiving was offered, which was attended by the Nuncio, by many bishops, and by the nobility, and gentry, and magistrates of the city.[33] The Nuncio's expectations had been more than realised; and the capture of Bunratty and Roscommon, which happened at the same time, confirmed him in the belief that the Catholics were able to defend themselves if they cordially united; that they did not need the assistance of Ormond, and might safely set him at defiance. Yet it was at this period of strength and triumph, that the Supreme Council, dominated by Muskerry and Mountgarrett, entered into fresh negotiations, and concluded a disastrous peace. Some of them were in possession of church lands, and feared to break with Ormond, and depend entirely on their co-religionists; and, therefore, instead of rejoicing at the

[32] Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 110-18, 676-86; Rinnuccini, pp. 173-6; Taylor's *Life of Owen Roe O'Neill*, Chapter II.

[33] Meehan, p. 151.

victory of Benburb, they looked on O'Neill with increased jealousy and hate. If the King were strong, and agreed to Glamorgan's treaty, the Supreme Council would have reason on their side. But neither of these things happened. The King was in the hands of the Scotch, and unable to carry out any agreement he entered into. In June he had written from Newcastle to Ormond to proceed no further in the peace; at the same time he wrote to Glamorgan to go on, and that he would carry out his promises. These things ought to have convinced the Irish, if they were not yet convinced, that Charles was a man whom no treaty or promises could bind.[34] Ormond considered he had no power even to assent to the treaty of the 28th of March, and yet the Supreme Council sent their agents to him in Dublin. Lord Digby, in the meantime, had come to Ireland from the Queen, repudiating on her behalf the King's letter from Newcastle. In these circumstances, Ormond thought he might make peace, and, in the last days of July, the peace of the 28th of March was signed by Muskerry and Mountgarrett. It guaranteed nothing to the Catholics, and left the Ulster Irish out in the cold, while placing Ormond in command of the Confederate troops. Yet it was agreed to, and duly proclaimed in Dublin.[35]

Vainly had the Nuncio protested in advance against any such peace. At Limerick, he had shown the messengers of the Supreme Council the protest of himself and nine bishops against any peace which did not guarantee the free and public exercise of their religion, and when the messengers persisted in going to Dublin to see Ormond, he refused to give them his blessing.[36] When all else failed, he summoned a synod at Waterford, and denounced the peace, declaring its abettors and contrivors perjured and excommunicated.[37] The old Irish everywhere approved of this condemnation, as did also the cities and towns, except Kilkenny. To this latter city Ormond went, and he purposed holding an assembly at Cashel to publish the peace and compel its acceptance. But all the towns on his route shut their gates against him; and

[34] Meehan, p. 156; Rinnuccini, p. 185.
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-8; Rinnuccini, pp. 195-6.
[36] Rinnuccini, pp. 178-9.
[37] Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 124; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 507-9.

finding himself among enemies instead of friends, he hastily retreated to Dublin.[38]

During these events O'Neill was not inactive. After the battle of Benburb, he first marched against the Lagan forces, which had come south as far as Augher in Tyrone, but was unable to come up with them, as they had hurriedly retreated to Derry; then he turned to Benburb and Charlemont, and pursued Monroe as far as Tanderagee, from which he sent out parties to gather preys in the county of Down. It is indeed strange that he did not follow up his victory as he ought. There were then but 2,500 English and Scotch troops in the east of Ulster; the Lagan forces were unable to help, and were in danger themselves; Preston menaced Coote, and from Connaught no relief could come. O'Neill had abundance of supplies; and if he had besieged Carrickfergus the place must have fallen, and the destruction of the Scotch army would be complete.[39] Instead of this he contented himself with getting large supplies into Charlemont, and then he took up his headquarters at Cavan, where for seven weeks he remained.[40] To the Nuncio he proposed to march on Dublin; but the peace negotiations were then proceeding; and though the Nuncio expected little would result from them, he wished Dublin to be left unmolested.[41] Some weeks later he was anxious that that city should be attacked, and sent a message to O'Neill, who pleaded the want of the necessary cannon. Instead he advanced rapidly south, intending to sack Kilkenny, and put an end to that Supreme Council which had betrayed their religion and country, and in an especial manner had abandoned Ulster. He had then more than 10,000 men under his command. After Benburb he called his army the Catholic army, and gloried in sustaining the clergy, and denouncing the peace, and those who made it.[42] Rejecting all overtures from Ormond, he encamped near Roscrea with 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse, just at the time that Ormond had left Kilkenny, on his way to Cashel,

[38] Rinnuccini, p. 201.
[39] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 469-70.
[40] Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 686.
[41] Rinnuccini, p. 189.
[42] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 481.

and was menacing with nearly 2,000 men those places which rejected the peace. O'Neill sent a message to Cashel that if Ormond was admitted he would storm the town. He had also sent agents to stir up the Wicklow clans ; and Ormond, fearing for his personal safety, retraced his steps to Dublin, and narrowly escaped being caught by O'Neill at Leighlin Bridge. Nor would he have escaped but for the treachery of Colonel Bagnal, a Confederate officer, who allowed him to pass the bridge over the Barrow unmolested. O'Neill then stormed Roscrea, and, advancing towards Kilkenny, encamped within three miles of the city. He was there joined by Preston, who at first had favoured the peace, but soon turned to the popular side.[43] Both generals then sent word to the Nuncio that the way was clear to Kilkenny, and thither Rinnuccini went, leaving Waterford in the last days of September. His first act was to dissolve the Supreme Council, and even imprison its members ; he also imprisoned Bagnal and Sir Robert Talbot, who had aided Ormond to escape ; and a new Supreme Council was formed of 12 members, three from each province, the Nuncio himself being elected President.[44]

The new Council was to summon a General Assembly in a few months ; but meanwhile Muskerry was deprived of his command in Munster, which was given to Glamorgan ; and the whole forces of Preston and O'Neill were got ready to march on Dublin. Objection was raised to Preston in the Supreme Council, but the Bishop of Ferns intervened on his behalf, and with O'Neill he was appointed to the joint command of the army. For the moment the two generals acted together. The jealousy between them, however, was deep seated and of long standing ; and when O'Neill, accompanied by the Nuncio, captured the towns of the Queen's County and garrisoned them, Preston found fault with the arrangement, and on his side marched leisurely through Carlow, leaving the town and garrison of Carlow untouched. The two armies met at Lucan, and it was settled that Preston's headquarters should be at Leixlip and O'Neill's at Newcastle. The city's defences were weak, and its available force being not more than 6,000, while the Irish forces were nearly

[43] Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 124.
[44] Meehan, pp. 162-6.

three times as numerous; but from the first there was distrust and division, which was artfully accentuated by Ormond, who commenced negotiating with Preston. The Nuncio proposed that the latter general should be dismissed from his command, and even imprisoned, but he weakly yielded to contrary, though well-meant, advice, and the jealousies and rivalries continued. The confusion was increased by Clanricarde, who had fresh terms of peace to propose, which after all differed little from those of Ormond's treaty, and which Clanricarde had no prospect of having ratified, even if agreed to.[45] O'Neill dreaded that Preston meditated joining hands with Ormond, and that both united might fall upon himself. There was no attempt to attack Dublin; the winter was severe; supplies were running short; and when a report reached the Irish headquarters through Preston that a Parliamentary force had just entered Dublin, O'Neill rose from his seat as if he had been stung; and gathering his men together by sound of cannon, retired to the Queen's County.[46] Preston had engaged to join Ormond, to declare for the peace, and to serve with his army under Clanricarde. But he failed to carry out his engagement. He found that his men were not excommunication proof. Nor could he, as he intended, seize the stores at Kilkenny; and he remained at that city, where, through the efforts of the Nuncio, he was again reconciled with O'Neill.[47]

These events happened in November and December. In January O'Neill took Athlone from Sir James Dillon, who was intriguing with Ormond, and in fact had joined hands with him; and in the following months O'Neill had established his headquarters at Maryborough.[48] But meanwhile the Supreme Council convoked a General Assembly, which met in February. Its meetings were stormy and disclosed many points of disagreement.[49] On Ormond's peace, however, their verdict was emphatic, and out of 300 members only 12 could be found to favour it; and they unanimously adopted the resolution of the Waterford synod that they would have no

[45] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 541; 546-7; Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 131-2.
[46] Rinnuccini, pp. 504-8.
[47] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 575; Carte, Vol. I., 590-6, Vol. III., p. 568; Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 134.
[48] Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 130, 720-4.
[49] Rinnuccini, pp. 245-7, 258.

peace which did not guarantee the free and public exercise of their religion and did not leave them in possession of all the churches and church lands they then held. [50] The Assembly ended its sittings in April, but not before a new Supreme Council of 24 members was appointed. At the same time the members of the old Council, who had been imprisoned, were set free. O'Neill was put in command of the combined forces of Ulster and Connaught; Preston got command in Leinster; Glamorgan was continued in Munster. [51] Leyburne, the Queen's chaplain, returned from France under the assumed name of Winter, and through him fresh negotiations with Ormond were opened up, and a further short cessation was agreed to. [52] But Ormond would not accept the Confederate terms. He was more in sympathy with the Puritans than with the Catholics, whose demands for public toleration of their religion and possession of their Churches he pronounced insolent, fitter to be treated on in a league between princes than between his Majesty's governor of a kingdom and his subjects declined from their obedience. Even while negotiating with the Catholics he was also in treaty with the Parliament; and early in 1647 he admitted the Parliamentary troops into Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim and Naas, and in July he resigned the Viceroyalty, surrendered to them the city of Dublin, and left Ireland. [53] The price of this treachery was a sum of £5,000 and a pension of £2,000 a year from the Parliament. This last act caused consternation to the Ormondists in the Supreme Council and elsewhere; and Muskerry at a later period declared that Ormond had deceived them all and ruined his country. [54]

The position of the Confederates was now critical. Monroe was strong in Ulster, and had recovered some positions he had lost; in Dublin there was a strong Parliamentary force under Jones; and Inchiquin had 5,000 foot and 500 horse in Munster, and was ranging at will through the province. [55] Since January Charles I. had been handed over to the Parliament by the Scots; the royalist

[50] Meehan, pp. 180-2.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 188-90.
[53] Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 146; Carte, Vol. I., p. 601.
[54] *The Unkind Deserter.*
[55] Carte, Vol. I., p. 602.

cause was lost, and the royalists incapable of further resistance; and the Parliament were now free to send fresh supplies of men and money to Ireland. Nor could O'Neill and Preston agree in spite of the dangers which menaced them.[56] The Supreme Council had changed their residence from Kilkenny to Clonmel. They had appointed Glamorgan as general, but the army would not obey him, and insisted on having Muskerry back; and *he* remained inactive, and made no serious effort to check the ravages of Inchiquin. The fiercest animosity had again arisen between the new and old Irish. The former dreaded that O'Neill meant to capture Kilkenny and overrun Munster; and the Munster officers declared they would join Ormond, or Inchiquin, or the Turks, rather than expose themselves to be enslaved by him.[57] Even the Nuncio was beginning to share in these fears, and blamed O'Neill;[58] and the Supreme Council had again fallen under the influence of the Ormondists and would not give him supplies, though they furnished Preston with a well-equipped army. This latter general had 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse under his command; and, hoping to capture Dublin and eclipse the glory of Benburb, he laid siege to Trim. Jones, with an inferior force, marched to its relief. The two armies met in August at Dungan Hill, near Trim, when Preston was disastrously beaten with the loss of more than 5,000 of his men, and arms, baggage, and military stores fell into the enemy's hands. The defeated general retreated to Carlow, and the Catholic army of Leinster thus ceased to exist.[59]

Equally disastrous was the news from Munster. Muskerry was superseded in the command by Taaffe, but the new general was as ineffective as the old; and Inchiquin in September first captured Cahir and then Cashel. The garrison of the latter town were offered leave to depart, if they gave Inchiquin £3,000, and left the citizens at his mercy. They refused these terms, and resolved to defend themselves, and the better to do so made their way to the Rock of Cashel, where they were attacked with fury. The defenders fought

[56] Rinnuccini, p. 275.
[57] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 1-3.
[58] Rinnuccini, pp. 281-4.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 306-8; Gilbert, Vol. I., pp 154-7.

well, but numbers told, the place was stormed, and the infuriated Puritans massacred all within, men, women and children. Some soldiers surrendered on condition of their lives being spared, but when their arms were given up they were instantly cut down. The victors entered the church, where many of the priests were killed; crucifixes, statues and pictures were broken in pieces; vestments were used as horse cloths, or worn by the soldiers in derision, and Inchiquin himself put on the Archbishop's mitre, boasting that he was governor of Munster and Mayor and Archbishop of Cashel. [60] This tale of horror was soon spread throughout Munster. Indignation was universal at the supiness or incapacity of Taaffe, and that general, thus urged, proceeded to measure swords with Inchiquin. The battle was fought at Knockanoss, near Mallow. Taaffe, who was much superior in numbers, was aided by Colkitto MacDonnell, who had so distinguished himself in Scotland under Montrose, and who now commanded the right wing of the Confederate army. With a heroism worthy of his former record, he rushed impetuously on the foe. His men with their dreaded claymores cut down the artillerymen at their guns and drove the enemy's whole left wing off the field, pursued them a good distance, and then returned and took quiet possession of the guns. But Taaffe's left wing and centre had behaved like poltroons, and made little resistance, and were cut down in hundreds by Inchiquin. After pursuing them a distance he returned and confronted the heroic MacDonnell, who was soon killed. The loss amounted to 3,000 men; and arms, ammunition and baggage fell into the victor's hands; and the army of Munster under Taaffe was as effectually wiped out as the army of Leinster had been under Preston. [61]

O'Neill was then at Boyle preparing to attack Sligo, and was recalled to Leinster by the Supreme Council. The province lay at the mercy of the victorious Jones, and any moment he might join with Inchiquin, and Kilkenny itself might be taken. O'Neill's officers declared they would not risk their lives to save the Leinster trimmers; but O'Neill reminded them they were soldiers and must obey, and without further complaint they marched to the scene of

[60] Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, 389-92.
[61] Gilbert. Vol. I., pp. 176-7; Carte, Vol. II., p. 9.

Preston's defeat, and then O'Neill set up his headquarters at Trim. All round Dublin he wasted and burned, and thus kept Jones in his quarters; for if he sallied forth he had no food supplies, and O'Neill was not likely to give him battle at a disadvantage. [62] During the whole winter this was the position, O'Neill alone keeping the enemy at bay, and he alone standing between the Confederates and utter destruction. Yet their gratitude was little. Lately the Connaught Provincial Council declared they would have no Commander but him; the Marquis of Antrim had also joined him; an Irish priest had published a book at Lisbon urging the Irish to have him as king, and to sever the connection with England; [63] and the Pope, through Luke Wadding, had sent O'Neill his blessing, and also the sword of the great Earl of Tyrone. [64] The Ormondists took alarm; O'Neill, they thought, intended to proclaim himself king; and rather than have it so they joined hands with Inchiquin, and in April agreed to a cessation with him. [65] That nobleman's allegiance oscillated between the Parliament and the King; he again changed sides, and in conjunction with the Supreme Council began to work for the recall of Ormond. [66]

Against such a cessation O'Neill published a proclamation. The Nuncio was equally strong, and having denounced it at Kilkenny, fled to O'Neill's camp at Maryborough; and there summoning a meeting of the Bishops within his reach, issued a decree of excommunication against the framers and abbettors of the "pestilential peace." [67] But there were Catholics who flouted this decree. Fennell, one of the Supreme Council, publicly trampled it under foot; Lord Castlehaven was equally violent; eight Bishops declared the Nuncio's decree null and void, and proclaimed O'Neill a rebel; Sir Phelim O'Neill deserted him; and in the summer of 1648 five armies were in motion against him—Clanricarde, Inchiquin and Preston in the south, and Jones and Monroe in

[62] Gilbert, p. 165.
[63] Carte, Vol. II., p. 17.
[64] Rinnuccini, pp. 523-4.
[65] Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 193; Rinnuccini, pp. 393-7.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 211.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 194-5.

the north.[68] Yet he was able to hold the field, to march to the very gates of Kilkenny, and then with 10,000 men to march safely north and fix his headquarters at Belturbet.[69] Nor was he much disturbed by the decrees of the General Assembly in September and October, putting him out of the range of pardon, for he denied that the Assembly any longer represented the Confederate Catholics.[70] Such was the state of affairs when Ormond, again appointed Viceroy for the King, returned to Ireland, in November. He entered Kilkenny in state, the whole Assembly, the Bishops, Nobility and Officials, meeting him at the city gates. In return he dissolved the Confederation, and was prodigal of promises on the part of the King, though Charles was careful to inform him that these concessions would mean nothing. In other words, the King was making promises which he had no intention to keep.[71] But the perfidious monarch was unable either to give or to refuse concessions, and early in the new year his head fell on the block at Whitehall.

During all these years the Nuncio consistently opposed any accommodation with Ormond. He rejoiced when he left Ireland, and his anxiety was lest he might come back, and that there might be further negotiations and further divisions. Before the end of 1648 his worst fears were realised. Ormond was not merely the friend but the master of the Confederate Catholics; the General Assembly went so far as to declare the Nuncio a rebel; his person was in danger; his friend, the Dean of Fermo, was detained a prisoner at Kilkenny; and when himself fled to Galway he was besieged there by Clanricarde, and was unable to call a synod or to consult with the Bishops and clergy, though he was treated with every kindness by the people of the city.[72] In these circumstances, he concluded that his further stay in Ireland was useless. He could do no good; a large portion of the laity, and some of the bishops and clergy were against him, and had sent messengers to Rome to accuse him. O'Neill begged him not to leave the country, as in that

[68] Carte, Vol. II., p. 36.
[69] Rinnuccini, p. 415.
[70] Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 746-51.
[71] Taylor's *Owen Roe O'Neill*, p. 230.
[72] Rinnuccini, pp. 408, 423, 448.

event the well-affected would lose courage. [73] But these entreaties were unavailing, and in January, 1649, the Nuncio left Galway and soon arrived in Rome. He was offered a high place at the Papal Court, which, however, he declined, and quietly retired to his diocese at Fermo, where he died.

[73] Rinnuccini, pp. 428, 441.

CHAPTER XVII.

Cromwell's Campaign.

THE object which Ormond had in returning to Ireland was to unite all parties in obedience to the King. His position was perplexing. For the moment Inchiquin was on the Royalist side; but he was unreliable, and had, in fact, promised to go over to the Puritans if his former offences were pardoned, and if fresh supplies were sent to him from England; and some of his officers and soldiers were in secret communication with Jones of Dublin. The Marquis of Antrim, chagrined at not having been appointed Lord Lieutenant himself, had, with some Scotch troops under his command, joined the Byrnes and Kavanaghs of Wicklow, in opposition to Ormond's authority. Monroe in Ulster and many of the Presbyterians had indeed gone over to the King, and were in sympathy with their kindred in Scotland who had lately gone to war with the Independent faction in England; but Monroe was suprised and seized in Belfast by the Parliamentary general, Monk, and was sent a prisoner to London; while his friend, Sir Robert Stewart, was similarly surprised by Coote, who took possession of Derry for the Parliament. Finally, the Munster Confederates, having declared that they would join the Turks rather than O'Neill, and would as soon admit a body of Tartars into Munster as admit his troops, and having also declared him a traitor and a rebel, that general, in disgust, had made a cessation with Jones, and was meditating even closer relations with the Parliamentarians.

Unwilling to grant even the barest toleration to the Catholics, the Protestants distrusted Ormond, while the Catholics on their side must have learned to put little value on his promises. [1]

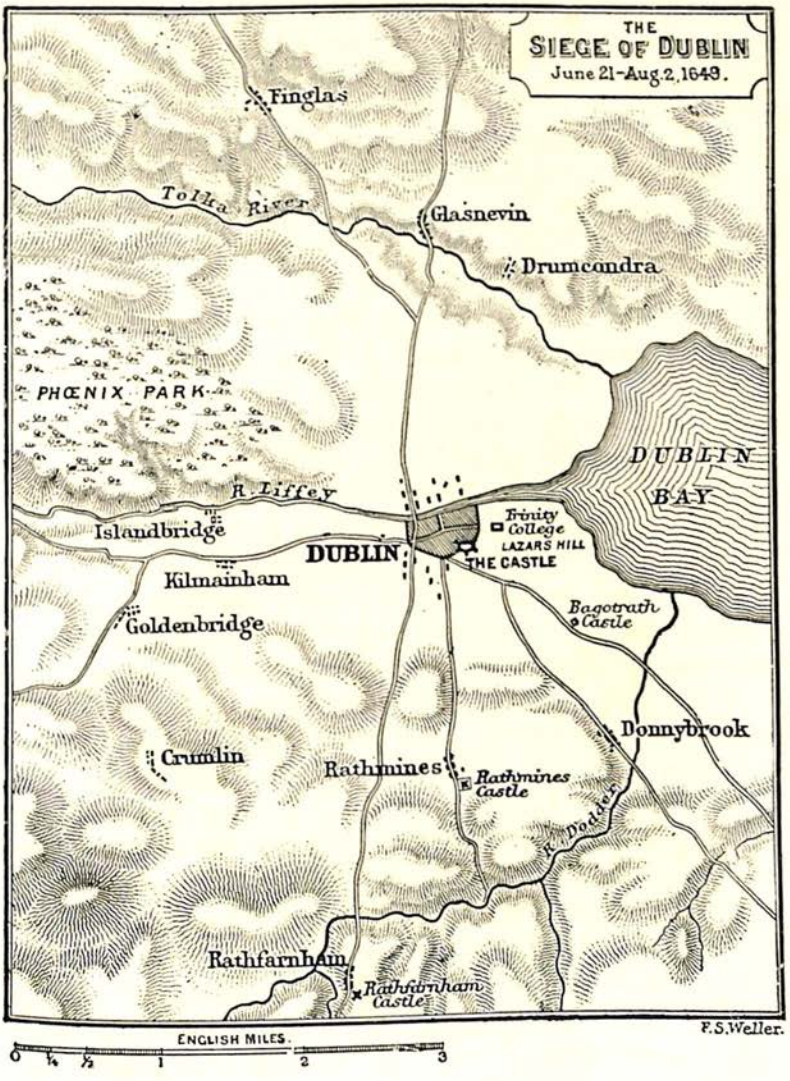
To bring about co-operation between such discordant elements was difficult; yet Ormond set about the task, and was all things to all men. He assured Inchiquin and the Munster Protestants that he had come to sustain the English and Protestant interest.[2] With the Confederate Catholics, after much debate, he agreed that they should have the free exercise of their religion; that they should no longer be bound by the act of Uniformity nor to take the Oath of Supremacy, but might take an oath of allegiance instead; and that the same form of oath might suffice for Catholics wishing to study law and practice at the bar; that Catholics should be eligible for all civil and military offices equally with Protestants; that there should be no further attempts at plantations; that as soon as convenient a free Parliament would be held, in which Catholics might sit, and by which all acts, ordinances and orders made by Parliament to the prejudice of Catholics since the 7th of August, 1641, were to be repealed; that all indictments, outlawries and attainders against Catholics since the same date were to be voided in the same Parliament; and that in the meantime Catholics were to be in the same position as if a free Parliament had sat and had passed the contemplated Acts. For the carrying out of these articles of agreement, and to assist Ormond in the government, there were appointed on the part of the Confederates, twelve Commissioners of Trust among whom were Lords Dillon and Muskerry. [3] But while agreeing to these concessions, Ormond was in correspondence with Jones and Sir Charles Coote, reminding them of their duty to their King, and beseeching them to desert the Parliament. He appealed especially to Sir Charles Coote reminding him that the Catholics after all got but some moderate concessions; that he had made no peace with those who had any hand in the crimes committed in the beginning or during the course of the rebellion, but by a special proviso had excluded these from any act of oblivion.

[1] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 41-5; Cox, p. 202; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 364-5.
[2] Carte, Vol. II., 41.
[3] Cox,—Appendix, No. 43.

He asked Coote to remember how zealous he had always been for Protestantism; that these concessions to the Catholics depended entirely on the King's confirmation, which might be given or withheld; that to grant even these was against his own wish, and was wrung from necessity, "the saddest to which any king was ever reduced." [4]

These appeals were vain, as Jones and Coote had taken their sides, and would not change. Nor could Ormond get the assistance of Lord Broghill, the most powerful nobleman in Munster. His father, the Earl of Cork, had come to Ireland as plain Richard Boyle, without a penny in his pocket; and by the most shameless corruption in the offices he held, and by every species of injustice, had acquired enormous possessions, and was then the richest nobleman in Ireland. [5] His instincts, the instincts of bigotry and plunder, had been transmitted to his son, who would have willingly joined Ormond if he thought him likely to succeed, and who joined the Parliament, believing that on that side lay the acquisition of further wealth and more extended possessions. From different motives O'Neill held aloof. He would be no party to a peace which recognised the Plantation of Ulster and would not restore the Ulster Catholics to the lands from which they had been driven, which contemplated the punishment of the Ulstermen for the rebellion of 1641, and specially excluded them from any Act of Oblivion. If these were Ormond's terms he would fight him rather than assist him, and would join hands with the Parliament. The sympathies of the cities were with him; and neither Limerick, nor Galway, nor Waterford, would admit a Royalist garrison. The remaining Catholics, those dominated by the defunct Kilkenny Assembly, were with Ormond. They had, indeed, no other alternative, for they would not co-operate with O'Neill, and they could get no money from the Pope, who refused to enable one party of Catholics to make war on others of the same faith. The departure of the Nuncio left them freer to act, and the execution of Charles so outraged their demonstrative loyalty, that they felt they must wreak vengeance on the English regicides.

[4] Carte, Vol. II., p. 52.
[5] Gardiner's *History of the Protectorate*, Vol. I., p. 106.



[*To face page 301.*

The arrangement by which the Commissioners of Trust shared the government with Ormond was ill-suited for war. It hampered his actions and dislocated his plans; he could do nothing without their assistance, and in getting an army together and raising taxes for their support they sometimes thwarted him.[6] Yet his strength was considerable. Castlehaven, Preston, Taaffe, Muskerry, Clanricarde, the greater part of the Catholics of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, the Protestants of the Pale and of Munster, and a great part of the Ulster Presbyterians—this was a formidable combination. In addition to this, Prince Rupert, with the Royalist fleet, was hovering off the coast of Munster; and there was a strong hope that the new King, Charles II., would come to Ireland in person. If he did O'Neill would certainly have joined him.[7] This latter hope, however, was not realised, for Charles did not come, nor would Rupert give the assistance expected; and without having won over O'Neill or being aided by Rupert, Ormond, in April, took the field. His prospects were then not bad, and brightened as time passed. In the early part of the year the garrison of Enniskillen had revolted from the Parliament, and the place was handed over to Ormond.[8] In April the Lagan forces had risen and blockaded Coote in Derry. Lord Montgomery was master of the north-eastern counties, and left nothing there to the Parliament except Lisburn.[9] For want of ammunition Owen Roe was idle, and a conference lately held between him and Coote came to nothing, as Coote would not agree to his terms.[10] In May, Castlehaven had taken Maryborough from O'Neill's adherents;[11] in the next month, Monroe, back again in Ireland, and with the King's commission, led an army of Ulster Scots into Connaught, and, with Clanricarde's aid, had taken Sligo.

Encouraged by these successes, Ormond hoped to seize Dublin, and with that object in view he drew his forces together, and, being joined by Inchiquin, encamped at Finglas. In the previous

[6] Carte, Vol. II., p. 61.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-5.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[10] Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 14.
[11] Carte, p. 69.

month of May, Jones was in great distress for want of supplies, as was Coote in Derry; and Ormond urged Prince Rupert to block up at least one of these cities. But that prince would obey no such orders, and in the meantime a Parliamentary naval force arrived off the Munster coast, and Rupert found himself blockaded in Kinsale. About the same time Owen Roe made a cessation with Monk, and was ready to aid Jones. In these circumstances Ormond thought it better to first reduce Drogheda and Trim; and Inchiquin, with 2,000 foot and 1500 horse, advanced to Drogheda, which he captured. For the most part the garrison deserted to him, and by the middle of July he marched north to Dundalk where Monk was in command. The Parliamentary general begged aid from O'Neill, who advanced, with 3,000 men, within 7 miles of Dundalk, whence he sent to Monk a party of 500 foot and 300 horse, under General Farrell, for ammunition, of which he was in the sorest need. [12] On its return the convoy was attacked by Inchiquin and cut to pieces, the horse escaping; the foot, all but 40, were killed, or taken prisoners. After a siege of two days, Monk was compelled to surrender Dundalk; Newry, and Carlingford, and Trim also capitulated; and after thus accomplishing much in a short time, Inchiquin returned to Finglas. [13] O'Neill, in the meantime, had been appealed to by Coote, who granted the terms he formerly rejected, and the Irish leader marched north from Clones; and thus, relieved from anxiety on the side of Ulster, Ormond was free to attack Dublin. And if he had done so at once he might have succeeded, for Jones was weak, and his expected succours had not yet arrived. But Ormond delayed until a Parliamentary force of more than 2,000 arrived in Dublin with money and supplies in abundance; and in addition he detached a considerable force to proceed with Inchiquin to Munster. He had heard that the new Parliamentary Viceroy was coming to the Southern province, and he sent Inchiquin to make headway against him, lest the whole province should be lost. In the last days of July his army was in motion, and leaving Lord Dillon, with 2,500 men, to

[12] Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 448-50.
[13] Carte, Vol. II., p. 74.

OLIVER CROMWELL

FROM THE PAINTING BY SIR PETER LELY—IN THE PITTI GALLERY, FLORENCE

watch the north side of the city, Ormond crossed the Liffey with the remainder of his troops; captured Rathfarnham, and made the garrison prisoners; and then set up his headquarters at Rathmines. At or near the spot where Beggars Bush Barracks now stands, but outside the city walls, was a strong castle called Baggotrath. Of this Ormond took possession. His plan was to strongly fortify this position and extend his entrenchments towards the sea, and thus he could cut off supplies from England to the city, and at the same time prevent the horses of the besieged from grazing outside the walls, between Baggotrath and the strand. It was the only place they had to graze, and he knew that fodder was running short within the city. Those making the entrenchments were guarded by the whole army; but Jones had no intention of allowing the works to proceed, and sallied forth with all his forces. Ormond's right wing near the strand, being first attacked, made little resistance after its commander, Sir W. Vaughan, was killed; the centre and left were as easily driven back; 600 of them were killed, some after laying down their arms and being promised quarter, and nearly 2,000 were taken prisoners. Ormond himself narrowly escaped, but his baggage, arms, ammunition and money chest of £4,000 fell into the hands of the enemy.[14] Nor would there have been any of his army left, but that Sir Thomas Armstrong, with 1,000 horse, had opportunely come up, and thus prevented the victors from continuing the pursuit. Lord Taaffe escaped across the Liffey, and begged Lord Dillon to attack the enemy while disordered by their victory, but his men refused, and were with difficulty persuaded to go, half to Trim and half to Drogheda, to strengthen these garrisons. Ormond himself, with the broken remains of his army, made his way to Trim. He contemplated getting another army together, and renewing the attack on Dublin, but failed, nor could he ever retrieve his defeat; and even this defeat, crushing as it was, was soon overshadowed by still greater disasters.

In the Civil War in England the most prominent figure on the Parliamentary side was Oliver Cromwell. Born at Huntingdon,

[14] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 79-82; Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 28-34; Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 44-6; Gardiner, Vol. I., pp. 101-15.

in the last year of the 16th century, he belonged to the substantial gentry class, being, as he himself said, neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity.[15] A cousin of Hampden, when he entered Parliament he took Hampden's side, and with him and the patriot party fought against the illegal exercise of royal authority, which brought on the civil war, and brought Charles I. to his ruin. He was no orator, for his talents were not for the senate but for the battlefield, and though he lived the life of a country gentleman until he was more than 40 years of age, and never engaged in war, he became in a few years one of the greatest generals of the age. And from those raw recruits who followed him he formed an army so brave, so fearless of danger, so disciplined, yet of such desperate courage in battle, that no enemy could resist them. He had the true general's capacity, was cautious, careful, vigilant; able to inspire his troops with unbounded confidence in their commander and in themselves; quick to see an opposing general's mistake; and then equally quick to strike home. At Marston Moor and at Naseby it was his sword which decided the day; and neither in Scotland, or Ireland, or England, did he ever suffer defeat. To the English Church as established by law he was opposed, but though he joined the Presbyterians on the basis of putting down popery and Prelacy, and of having one church and one discipline in England and Scotland, he did not love the Presbyterians. He rather favoured the Independents, that extreme section of the Puritans which rejected all ecclesiastical authority. But he had no sympathy with their extravagances, and if he did not adopt "the grand humanism of Milton," neither did he adopt or respect the fancies of those whimsical mystics who held it a sin to wear clothes, and believed that the distance to heaven was but six miles.[16] The doctrine of private judgment he pushed to its extreme limits. He read the Bible, and little else, and he interpreted it according to his humour, or, as he said, according as he was inspired. To its pages he always appealed; he asserted that God was ever with him, and that in all his actions it was the finger of God that beckoned

[15] Morley's, *Cromwell*, p. 7.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

him on. He protested that in all his wars it was for God's glory he fought, and not for his own. Before the battle he appeals to God for victory, and after the battle he thanks God for the victory gained; when the enemy waver it is all God's work, and in his account of the great victory gained by the Puritans over the Royalists at Marston Moor, he gleefully asserts that "God made them as stubble to our swords." [17] It is not easy to say if all this is unctuous hypocrisy or self-deception. Mr. Morley prefers self-deception as a "truer and a kinder word than hypocrisy;" [18] but it is hard to exclude hypocrisy altogether. Beginning his public career as the advocate of Parliamentary liberty, the foe of a despotic monarch, Cromwell ended by establishing a military dictatorship under which free speech was stifled, Parliament forcibly dissolved by two files of musketeers, taxes raised by ordinance, and those who protested cast into prison; and these acts were justified by the tyrant's plea that the ground of necessity for justifying men's actions was above all consideration of instituted law. [19] Cromwell was too clear-sighted a man to think that in all these contradictory acts he was under Divine guidance; but it suited him to maintain that he was; for in that age and in England religion entered much into the hearts and governed the acts of men, and he who was believed to have God with him easily attracted the submission and the support of the masses.

Early in 1649, monarchy was abolished in England, and so was the House of Lords, and a Council of State was established. King Charles I. was dead and his party in England crushed, and the Scots, who had revolted in the previous year, were defeated and their leader, Hamilton, executed; and the Council in the end of March gave Cromwell a large army, and directed him to reduce Ireland to obedience. His departure was delayed by a mutiny of the army. Some soldiers had embraced the doctrines of the Levellers, a fanatic sect which desired to establish a theocracy called the "Dominion of God and the Saints," the leader of which declared he was of the race of the Jews, and lately had a vision directing him to go dig and

[17] Carlyle's *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Vol. I., pp. 207, 212.
[18] Morley's *Cromwell*, p. 281.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 404-6.

plough the earth and receive the fruits thereof.[20] But this mutiny, and another which followed it, was easily put down, and in June, Cromwell, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord General, was expected to start on his journey. But he was in no hurry to go, and not until the 10th of July did he leave London for Bristol. At Bristol he remained more than a month, and only when he heard of Jones's victory at Baggotrath did he set sail.[21] It appears his first destination was Munster; but the news from Dublin caused him to change his plans. He had abundance of artillery and military stores, and £200,000 in money, and, accompanied by his son Henry, his son-in-law Ireton, Blake, Sankey, Ingoldsby, and Ludlow, and other distinguished officers, and with an army of more than 17,000 men, he arrived in Dublin on the 15th of August.

It was a formidable force, not only in numbers and equipment and in the confidence and courage begotten of unbroken success, but still more because of the fierce fanaticism with which it was inspired. There were no chaplains; the officers said prayers; the private soldiers spent their time in reading the Scriptures; they sang hymns and psalms as they marched into battle, and called upon the Lord while slaying their enemies.[22] And Cromwell always cultivated their good opinion, posed as the champion of religious liberty, joined the soldiers in their conventicles; and in quoting Scripture and in calling upon God he could not be outdone by the fiercest zealot of them all.[23] From such a general and such an army the Irish Catholics had no mercy to expect. Five years before this date, the English Parliament ordered that Irish Papists taken in arms in England should be hung; and after Naseby some Irish camp followers found on the field were butchered in cold blood.[24] The tales of Temple of a universal massacre of Protestants in 1641 were circulated and believed; the *Book of Numbers* was often quoted that as blood defileth the land, the land could not be cleansed of the blood shed but by the blood of those that shed it; and in coming

[20] Gardiner's *Protectorate*, Vol. I., pp. 32-60.
[21] Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 29-30, 37; Murphy, 57-73.
[22] Lingard, Vol. VIII., p. 50.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[24] Carlyle, Vol. I., p. 209; Morley, p. 192.

[To face page 307.

to Ireland Cromwell believed he was engaging in a holy war. He was coming as one of the heroes of the Old Testament; coming as God's messenger, and girt with an avenging sword.

After a short stay at Dublin to refresh his troops, he selected 10,000 picked men, and setting out for Drogheda on the 31st of August, he encamped, two days later, before the walls of the town. The place was garrisoned by 3,000 men under Sir Arthur Aston, an English Catholic, who had fought with distinction with Sigismund of Poland against the Turks, and in the Royalist army in England, and whose reputation for generalship was high. Some of the troops were English; part were Irish; but all had seen service and might be relied on to fight well.[25] Then, as now, the town extended on both sides of the Boyne, the north and south town being connected by a drawbridge across the river. The walls encircling the town were a mile and a half in length, were twenty feet high, and from four to six feet thick; the walls were entered by eleven castellated gateways; and both walls and gateways were strengthened. There was a good quantity of powder, but neither shot nor match was abundant, nor was the supply of food sufficient for a lengthened siege. Some artillery there was, and experienced gunners; the courage of the soldiers and the strength of the defences inspired confidence; and Aston assured Ormond that he would give the enemy play; that the town could not be taken by assault; and that rather than deliver it up the whole garrison would perish at their posts. Ormond's own calculations were that the siege would be a lengthened one; that the hardships of the place and the severity of the approaching season would wear out the patience of Cromwell and dishearten his troops; and that meantime he himself would recruit his army at Trim; Inchiquin would come from Munster; and together they would fall upon Cromwell's troops and overpower them. But the Puritan general frustrated these plans by the vigour with which he pushed the siege. For some days after the 2nd of September, nothing important took place; the garrison made some small sorties, and that was all. But Cromwell's progress was not stayed; gradually he crept up to the walls; and by the 9th had the

[25] Carlyle, Vol. II., p. 55.

whole town effectually surrounded, his heavy guns brought up and in position. On that evening he hung out a white flag, and sent the governor a summons to surrender the place, "to the end effusion of blood may be prevented." His demand being rejected, he hung out a red flag, and turned his guns on the south and south-eastern wall, especially noting for destruction the steeple of St. Mary's Church, adjacent to the south wall. On the summit of this steeple the besieged had placed some cannon, which much annoyed the besiegers. Cromwell had erected two batteries, one outside the south wall, at a spot not identified, the other on a height since called Cromwell's Mount, running parallel to the eastern wall, and separated from it by a small but deep valley, through which the little stream called the Dale rushes northward to the Boyne.

On the evening of the 10th, there was a large breach in the south wall, and a party was ordered to enter, but were met with great courage, and driven back with considerable loss, their commander, Colonel Castle, falling at their head. A second attempt was made, and was met with equal resolution and had a like result; but in a third attempt Cromwell himself came to the breach and encouraged the assailants, while Colonel Ewer led them on. Perhaps this assault was a more fierce attack than the others, or perhaps the defenders were disheartened by the loss of their commander, Colonel Wall. At all events the attack was successful. Three lines of entrenchments in front of St. Mary's Church were carried; the Church itself was occupied; and the garrison became demoralized, and fled, terror-stricken, across the river. In their haste they forgot to take up the drawbridge, and both Puritan and Catholic crossed it together. Sir Arthur Aston and 250 others took refuge in the Milmount, a commanding position of great strength in the south town. Quarter was offered, and the defenders laid down their arms, which they would certainly not have done if such a promise had not been made; but quarter was not given. Jones told Cromwell that now he had the flower of the Irish army in his power; and Cromwell gave orders that none were to be spared. They were first disarmed and then ruthlessly cut down. Aston, who had a wooden leg, had it wrenched off, and with it a soldier beat out his brains. For five days the slaughter continued, and in churches and private houses people were

sought out and done to death. In St. Peter's Church 1,000 who fled there for shelter were killed. Some fled to the tower, which, being of wood, was set on fire, those who sought shelter there perishing in the flames. In the tower of the Magdalen Church others sought refuge, but were pursued by the Puritans, each of whom took a child, which he held before him as a buckler of defence to save himself from been shot or brained; and in the vaults the women who were hidden were sought out and killed. Two priests were captured and taken to the market place, and being tied to stakes, had their bodies riddled with bullets; two Dominicans were taken outside the walls and hanged in the presence of the whole army; and an old bed-ridden priest was taken out of bed, dragged along the road, and then beaten with clubs until he expired. How many of the inhabitants were spared it is impossible to say; but Clarendon emphatically declares that all those who were Irish, man, woman, and child, were put to the sword. Down the street from St. Peter's to the Boyne rivers of blood ran, and even within recent times the place was called Bloody Street.

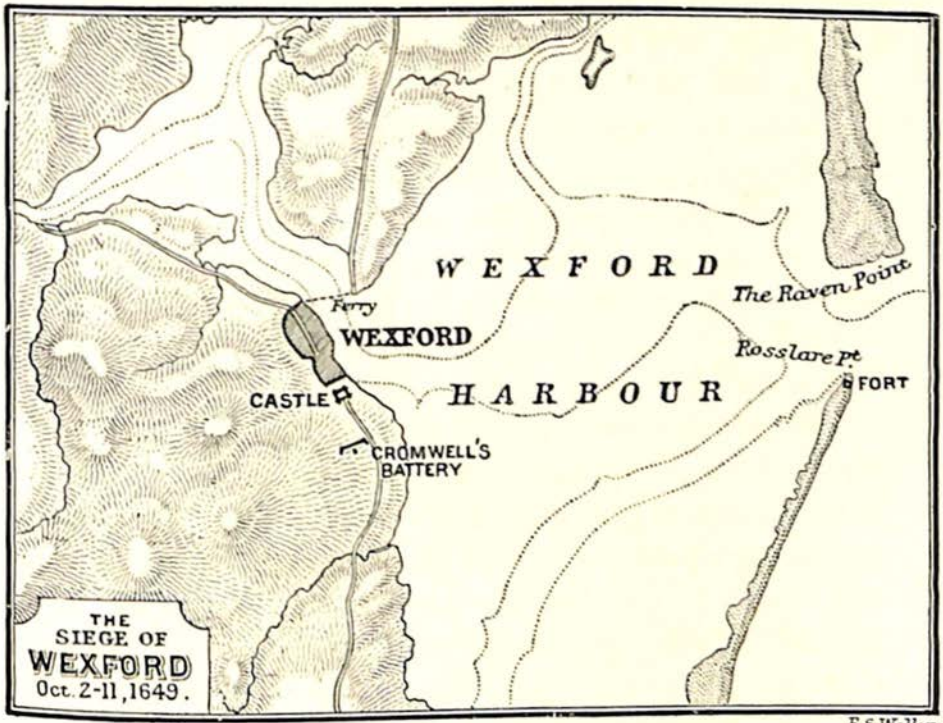
In his usual fashion Cromwell maintained he was doing God's work. "It was set up in our hearts," he writes, "that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the spirit of God;" and that which gave his men such courage to storm the breach was the spirit of God, and God alone should have all the glory. He gleefully recounts how all the friars were knocked on the head; that in St. Peter's Church, where Mass was said the previous Sunday, not less than 1,000 Catholics were done to death; and he gloats over the sufferings of those who were burned in its tower, and tells how one man in the midst of the flames cried out "God confound me, I burn." In the blood of its Catholic soldiers and citizens he concluded that Catholicity was for ever extinguished in Drogheda. But in this respect his expectations have not been realized. At the present day there is no town in Ireland where the spirit of Catholicity is stronger. The Magdalen Church, indeed, has disappeared, all but its ruined tower; old St. Peter's is gone, and a new Protestant St. Peter's has arisen on its site; but near at hand is a still more beautiful St. Peter's, built by Catholic piety and Catholic zeal, and which, in richness of ornament and beauty of design, far exceeds that

St. Peter's of old; the house where Cromwell lodged is a Catholic club-room; the Catholics in the town outnumber all other denominations by ten to one; and nowhere is there more reverence paid to a Catholic priest. [26]

After the fall of Drogheda, Ormond, unable to encounter Cromwell in the field, or even to hold Trim, made his way to Kilkenny, giving orders to the small garrisons at Trim and Dundalk to desert and destroy these places, if the enemy approached. But they were so terrified by the events at Drogheda, that they abandoned the places they held without destroying them, and in quick succession Trim and Dundalk, and Carlingford, and Newry, and Lisburn and Belfast fell into the enemy's hands. [27] In the meantime, leaving garrisons in the captured towns, Cromwell returned to Dublin, and, with little delay, proceeded south to Wexford. He ordered that nothing was to be taken from the people by his soldiers. He had already shown on his journey to Drogheda that he meant this order to be obeyed, and two of his soldiers who were caught stealing a hen were executed; and so it happened that confidence was engendered, and the people came freely to his camp to sell; and on his march to Wexford his army was plentifully supplied. In leaving Dublin he sent a fleet to co-operate with the land force; it arrived at Wexford on the 29th; the land force arrived on the following day; and on the 3rd of October he summoned the town to surrender. Colonel Synott was governor; Sir Edmond Butler was in military command. The utmost that Cromwell would give was quarter and liberty to the soldiers, quarter only to the officers, and to the inhabitants freedom from pillage. These terms were considered insufficient, and if the besieged had been united and loyal to each other they could long have maintained themselves. They had a garrison of 2,000 men; a capable and trusted commander;

[26] Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 49-50, 232-77; Murphy, pp. 82-118; Carte, Vol. II., p. 84; Clarendon's *Rebellion*, Vol. III., p. 41; Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 56-66; Morley, pp. 299-301; D'Alton's *History of Drogheda*, Vol. II., pp. 267-82; Gardiner, Vol. I., pp. 124-40. Gardiner, I think, is right in rejecting Woods' account (*Athenæ Oxoriensis*) about the ladies arrayed in jewels in the vaults of the church, and about the lady thrown over the wall. In the circumstances it is unlikely that ladies would so array themselves, nor could a girl easily be thrown over a wall so high.

[27] Carte, II., pp. 88-90; Murphy, pp. 118-23; Carlyle II., pp. 67-8.



(To face page 311.

the town wall was 22 feet high; they had 100 cannon, and two ships in the harbour manned with heavy guns; the severe weather was approaching; there was sickness already in Cromwell's army, and as time passed his ranks would be thinned; and Ormond was at New Ross, only twenty miles distant. But these advantages were counterbalanced by disunion, and by the treachery of one in whom they trusted. This was Captain Stafford, who commanded a strong castle, a few feet outside the southern wall, and which dominated that part of the town. He was so trusted that he was one of four sent out to confer with Cromwell; but all the time he was in Cromwell's pay; and even while negotiations were proceeding he betrayed the castle into the hands of the enemy; and to the consternation of the besieged the castle guns were unexpectedly turned on the town. The English entered, and the tale of Drogheda was renewed. Men, women and children were put to the sword. Some escaped by swimming the river; others got away on the north side of the town, and even carried some of their property with them. All others were put to death. The churches were profaned; the soldiers in mockery put on the habits of the Franciscan friars; priests were killed as they knelt at the altar, others while hearing confessions; and 300 women who gathered round the market cross were slain. Cromwell chuckles over the amount of booty obtained, for these Puritans, if they hated the Papist religion, had no objection to Papist money. In a few days Tintern and Dunbrody and New Ross were taken. The strong fort of Duncannon under Colonel Wogan still held out, but, except this, every place in the County of Wexford was soon in the enemy's hands.[28]

It was at this date that Ormond and Owen Roe came to terms. The latter's alliance with Monk and Coote had been disavowed by the English Parliament; Monk was for a time imprisoned, but his intentions were recognised to be good, and because of this he was set free; and Coote justified himself by saying that sometimes God made use of wicked instruments to bring about His designs.[29]

[28] Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 68-81; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 90-3; Murphy, pp. 139-92; MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 574; Gardiner, Vol. I., pp. 142-8; Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 681.

[29] Murphy, p. 18.

Bitterly resenting this treatment, O'Neill was willing to listen to the Royalists; and Ormond, chastened by recent defeats, was in a more yielding mood. But he was slow to give specific promises, and not until the 12th of October was a treaty signed, by which O'Neill was to have the command of 7,000 men under Ormond; an Act of Oblivion was to extend to all acts done since October 22nd, 1641; Catholics who aided O'Neill were to get lands in Ulster, and to that extent the Plantation of Ulster was undone. O'Neill then sent General O'Farrell to Ormond with 3,000 men. O'Neill himself was to follow with the remainder of his men. But he had been ill since August; on his march south he got worse, and had to be carried in a litter; and on the 6th of November he died at Cloughouter, in Cavan. To the Irish Catholics and their cause his death was a crushing blow. He was the one man they trusted and were ready to follow. His military skill was unquestioned, as was his honesty and zeal in their cause; his judgment in war was sound and clear; of all the Irish leaders he alone was able to cope with Cromwell; and as the Irish, especially the Ulster Irish, wept over his grave, and tried to look into the future, they were appalled.[30]

With the arrival of the Ulster troops Ormond had a large army under his command; yet he remained inactive at Kilkenny, while Cromwell was making a bridge of boats over the Barrow, and was thus able to cross.[31] About the same time Inchiquin was defeated by the Cromwellians at Glascarrig, though his forces were much more numerous than those of his opponents; Ireton was sent north from New Ross and took Innistioge, and threatened Kilkenny itself; and Reynolds and Ponsonby captured Carrick-on-Suir. Cromwell's object in sending Ireton to Innistioge was to make Ormond believe he meant to attack Kilkenny. His real object was to attack Waterford, and it was for this purpose he captured Carrick and opened a passage over the Suir. He had been very sick and crazy in his health; his troops had suffered as he had, and placing garrisons in so many captured towns had diminished his numbers, so that when he left New Ross for Waterford he had less

[30] Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 300-3, 454-5; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 82-3; Murphy, pp. 129-134.

[31] Carte, pp. 96-7; Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 97-9.

than 7,000 men under his command.[32] It was Ormond's opportunity. He lay within striking distance at Kilkenny; his army was more than twice that of his opponent; his supplies were ample; the Ulstermen were eager for fight. And Cromwell's army was on the march, a danger in itself, the Nore at his back, the Suir on his flank. In such circumstances an enterprising leader, such as Owen Roe, would have fallen on him with crushing weight; forced him back on the Suir or Nore; and the victory of Benburb might have been repeated. But Ormond was not an enterprising leader, and Cromwell was allowed to continue his march to Waterford, before the walls of which he arrived on the 24th of November. The defences of the city were strong, but until recently the garrison was small. The inhabitants hated Inchiquin and distrusted Ormond, and when he offered to send Castlehaven with 1,000 men they refused to admit him. But they were willing to admit the Ulstermen, and when he sent O'Farrell with 1,500 men they admitted these, and placed O'Farrell in military command of the city. When Cromwell appeared before the walls and summoned the place to surrender, the governor answered that he had 2,000 good men under his command, and that rather than surrender every man of them would die at his post. Cromwell captured Passage; but he thought it hopeless to take the city itself by assault, and could only turn the siege into a blockade. The hardships of this method of reducing it were great. The season was winter, the weather severe; sickness and death made terrible havoc among his troops; if he remained in his encampment he would have no army; and, choosing the lesser of two evils, he raised the siege on the 1st of December and returned to Dungarvan. When he reached there, Jones, the hero of Dungan's Hill and Baggotrath, died, and was soon after buried at Youghal. It was some compensation to Cromwell, amid so many losses, that a party from Waterford, who had, a few days after his departure, sallied out from the city and attempted to capture Passage, had been captured themselves. Ormond was at the northern side of the river; but the Waterford men refused to admit him, even when he proposed

[32] Carlyle, p. 91.

with his whole force merely to march through and fall on the rear of Cromwell's retreating army. [33]

A further good piece of news for Cromwell was the revolt of the Munster garrisons. Lord Broghill, who had been secretly in sympathy with the Puritans, now declared openly for them, and raised a force of 1,500 from his own tenants in the city and county of Cork. Through them he was able to corrupt the garrisons left in the south by Inchiquin. These latter, by Inchiquin's express wish, were all English and Protestant. They had the English contempt for the Irishman, and the Protestant hatred of his religion, and they changed sides with alacrity. Cork set the example, all the Catholics being turned out of the city unless they abandoned their faith, which they refused to do. The other towns did not treat the Catholics so harshly, but in other respects they followed where Cork led; and when Cromwell arrived at Dungarvan he was met by Broghill and 2,500 men of the revolted garrisons, who had come to swell the ranks of his army. [34]

Pushing on to Youghal, Cromwell set up his headquarters there, and rested and refreshed his troops, and then he visited Cork, Kinsale, Bandon, Skibbereen and Dunmanway. The outlook was then much brighter than when he lay before Waterford. Rupert, who had been blockaded in Kinsale, broke through the blockading ships with the loss of three of his vessels, and, making his way to Portugal, did not again trouble the Irish coasts; every important post in Cork and Waterford, except the city of Waterford itself, was in the hands of Cromwell; there was a rich country round, from which to gather supplies for men and horses; the sea was open, and all necessary provisions or military stores came abundantly from England; the soldiers had recovered their health and spirits; and when Cromwell again took the field he was at the head of a powerful army, longing to be abroad against the enemy with good clothes on their backs and money in their pockets. [35]

Far different was the condition of his opponents. Ormond had

[33] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 98-100; Carlyle, Vol. II., 107-10; Murphy, pp. 218-31.
[34] Carte, pp. 101-3; Murphy, pp. 203-8, 234-5.
[35] Murphy, pp. 249-50.

been refused admission into Limerick as well as Waterford, and finally set up his headquarters at Kilkenny. The other towns were unwilling to admit his troops; and Inchiquin was refused admission to Kilmallock, and had to effect an entrance by force. The Commissioners of Trust were either unable or unwilling to obtain supplies; and Ormond, in consequence, had to divide his forces, some of whom deserted and never again joined him. Taaffe and his troops returned to Connaught; Lord Dillon went to Westmeath; Clonmel admitted Hugh O'Neill with 1,600 men; while Daniel O'Neill was sent to Ulster to aid Monroe and Lord Montgomery in making headway against Sir Charles Coote. He arrived to find that Coote had just defeated Monroe at Lisburn, and captured Carrickfergus, and that, except Charlemont and Enniskillen, not a place held out for the Royalists in Ulster. Broghill at the same time boasted that there was not an English garrison in Munster but was theirs.[36] Everywhere there was weakness and division, and the loss of confidence which springs from continued defeat. There was widespread distrust of Ormond; and little faith in his capacity to turn back the tide of Cromwell's victories. Even if he did the Catholics had little to expect from him; and there were many among them who asked themselves would it not be better to make terms with Cromwell himself before it was too late.

While the public mind was thus agitated, the Catholic Bishops met in Council at Clonmacnoise. Their object was to heal the divisions which existed, to restore confidence, to banish despair, to give strength and courage to the people, to urge them to continue the struggle, lest the Catholics be exterminated. The result of their deliberations was embodied in two declarations and a series of decrees, published in the middle of December. They warn the people to expect nothing from Cromwell; remind them that he and many others had adventured money on Irish land to be confiscated, and that nothing is wanted to have this wholesale confiscation carried out but the complete success of his arms; they point to his declaration at Ross that he will not tolerate the Mass; that he had mercilesly murdered all the Catholics at Drogheda and Wexford, and that

[36] Murphy, pp. 237-9; Carte, Vol. II., p. 104.

the few whose lives were spared were transported as slaves to the West Indies. They advise all to contribute to the war in defence of their religion, their country and their king, and bid them lay aside all jealousies and rivalries. They order public prayers, alms, and other works of piety, to withdraw God's anger from the nation, and order that pastors and preachers preach unity, as the chief and only means to preserve the nation from destruction. [37]

On hearing of these declarations and decrees Cromwell was very wroth with the Bishops, and from his headquarters at Youghal published a reply. He sneers at their so-called union, and tells them he does not fear them, but will give them some wormwood to bite on. He charges them with pride and avarice and hypocrisy, and with seducing the people; bids them remember that in Christ's Church there is no such thing as clergy and laity, and no warrant for such a distinction in the Scriptures; and lays the whole blame for the rebellion of 1641 at their doors. He asks them to give an instance of even one man put to death by him who was not taken in arms, forgetting the citizens slaughtered at Drogheda, the infants killed in the Magdalen Church, the women killed in the vaults, the priests killed everywhere, who, on Cromwell's own confession, were knocked on the head promiscuously. Of threats he is profuse, but he will not interfere with Catholics because of their religion, only he will not allow the Mass; as if he were to say he would not interfere with a man eating, but would allow him no food, nor would he prevent him enjoying the sunlight, but would take care he should live in a darkened room. Carlyle, who has words of scorn for the Bishops' declaration, has words of unstinted praise for Cromwell's reply, and thinks it the most remarkable State paper ever issued by an Irish Viceroy. It may be hazardous to question such an authority, but it must be owned that neither its justice, nor even its common-sense, is apparent. Of intolerance, of untruth, of bad logic, bad manners, and incoherent fanaticism, this lauded State paper has an abundance; but of a perception of Ireland's

[37] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. II., pp. 38-43; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 104-5; Murphy, pp. 406-10.

disease, or a remedy for its ills, of the magnanimity or statesmanship of a great man, not the faintest trace can be found. [38]

This document was penned in January, 1650, and in the last days of that month Cromwell again took the field. Broghill, with a flying column, was to remain at Mallow and watch the coasts of Cork; Ireton and Reynolds were to cross at Carrick into Kilkenny; Ingoldsby was sent towards Limerick; Colonel Hewson, the governor of Dublin, was to march with a strong force south, through Kildare; and Cromwell himself, leaving Youghal, marched by way of Mitchelstown into Tipperary. Fethard, which he reached at night and summoned to surrender, made no resistance, though the governor complained it was no time of night to send a summons. [39] Turning east, Cromwell met Ireton and Reynolds at Callan, a place which he captured, but which made a stout resistance; [40] and leaving garrisons there and at Fethard, he set up his headquarters at Cashel. The Commissioners of Trust, in the meantime, retired from Kilkenny to Ennis. Ormond had gone to Limerick, but had been badly received there; the jealousies between the Royalists continued; and some of the Protestants among them made terms with Cromwell, whose position at Cashel was unassailable, and who was able to get large monthly tributes from the counties of Limerick, Cork and Tipperary. [41] He had hopes, it seems, of capturing Kilkenny, and was in treaty with a traitor within the walls, named Tickell; but the traitor was discovered and executed. [42] It was advisable, therefore, to wait the arrival of Hewson's troops, and that commander leaving Dublin in February, took his route through Kildare, captured the strong fortresses on his way, and reached Gowran, in Kilkenny. The Royalist commander in these parts was Lord Castlehaven, but he offered no resistance to Hewson, though after he had passed south he stormed Athy and took 700 of Hewson's troops, whom, however, he set free, not knowing what to do with them. [43]

[38] Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 115-40; Gardiner, Vol. I., pp. 163-6; Murphy, pp. 411-23.
[39] Murphy, p. 254.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 265-6.
[41] Murphy, pp. 272-80.
[42] Carte, Vol. II., p. 110.
[43] Murphy, pp. 282-91.

Cromwell and Ireton met Hewson at Gowran, and then the whole force turned westward to attack Kilkenny.

Lord Castlehaven had garrisoned the place with 1,000 foot and 200 horse, and ordered Lord Dillon with his force of 3,000 horse and foot, to march to its relief. But the plague was raging within the walls, and Dillon's men refused to approach it, declaring that they were ready to fight against man, but not against God. Sir Walter Butler was then in military command of Kilkenny. He was a brave man, and did everything to strengthen the defences of the place; and though his garrison was cut down to half its numbers by the plague, he sent a curt refusal in answer to Cromwell's imperious summons to surrender the city. On the 25th of March, Cromwell's batteries began to play on the walls, a large breach was made, and Colonels Axtell and Hewson entered the breach. But Butler had works erected inside; his soldiers fought with desperate courage; and twice the assailants were driven back. When ordered to storm the breach a third time they refused. Cromwell was on the point of raising the siege, when the Mayor, without consultation with the governor, opened negotiations with him. The inhabitants dreaded the fate of Wexford and Drogheda, and had not the heroic spirit of Butler and his troops. This caused Cromwell to delay his departure, as it lessened the confidence of Butler, who knew he could not hold out much longer, and who had orders to make the best terms he could, if not relieved by the evening of the 27th. On that date he surrendered the city to Cromwell; all who wished to remain to have their possessions secured to them; those who wished to go to be free to do so; the soldiers were allowed part of their arms; the city was to pay a fine of £2,000; and thus did the stronghold of the Butlers fall into the hands of the Puritans. The bravery of the garrison extorted the admiration of their foes. Cromwell specially complimented them; told them they were gallant fellows; and that he never could have taken the place, but for the treachery of the townsmen. [44]

In the early part of the year, it was rumoured that Charles II. was about to land in Scotland, and Cromwell was requested to

[44] Carte, Vol. II., p. 114; Murphy, pp. 296-311.

return to England by the Council of State ; but he did not go at once, as he wished to finish the war in Ireland, and this, he expected, would soon be done. Except Waterford, Limerick, Galway and Clonmel, all the important towns and cities were in his hands ; and while he was at Kilkenny he sent orders to Broghill to seize Clonmel. There was, however, other work for Broghill to do, and in the vicinity of Limerick he and Henry Cromwell met and defeated Lord Inchiquin. No sooner had he gained this victory than he heard of an incursion being made into Cork from Kerry, by David Roche and the sheriff of Kerry, accompanied by Boetius Egan, the Catholic Bishop of Ross. This force he encountered on the 10th of April, near Macroom, and defeated with the loss of 700 killed. Among the prisoners taken were the sheriff and the Bishop. The former was at once shot. The latter was brought to the neighbouring castle of Carrigadrehid, which was garrisoned by some of his friends, and was offered his life if he advised the garrison to surrender. When he approached the walls, instead of doing this, he advised them to maintain their position against the enemies of their country and faith. Broghill's soldiers instantly fell on him, cut off both his arms, and then, dragging him to a tree, hanged him from one of the branches with the reins of his horse. [45]

In the end of April, Cromwell himself appeared before Clonmel and summoned the town to surrender. The governor was Major-General Hugh O'Neill, nephew to Owen Roe, who, like his uncle, had earned distinction in foreign wars ; his second in command was Major Fennell ; the garrison was 1,500 foot and 100 horse. They expected additional forces from Ormond, but these had not come ; their supplies were limited ; the plague was also raging in the town. Yet O'Neill was skilful and vigilant, and had done the best that could be done. On the south, he was protected by the Suir ; the town walls were strengthened ; he was loyally supported by the inhabitants ; and to Cromwell's summons he replied that he was of another mind than to give up the town till he was reduced to a lower station, and so wished him to do his best. This vigorous answer was followed by vigorous action, and several times

[45] Murphy, pp. 321-6.

he sallied from the town, inflicting serious loss on the besiegers. Cromwell tried treachery, and made a secret arrangement with Fennell to open one of the gates to his troops. Making his nightly inspection, O'Neill suspected something; Fennell was arrested, and on promise of pardon revealed the whole plot; O'Neill strengthened the position, especially the gate through which the enemy were to enter; and when 500 of them were admitted, every man of them was put to the sword. [46]

Weakened in numbers, Cromwell summoned Broghill to his aid, and when he arrived the batteries played with such effect on the walls that a breach was soon made, and through this the besiegers entered, singing a hymn. Opposite the breach, O'Neill had formed a lane 80 yards in length, with a bank of earth and stones on each side, a man's height, having a foot bank at the back. These banks were manned by volunteers armed with swords, scythes and pikes; at the end of the lane, but invisible to those entering, were two heavy guns; while in the houses near some musketeers were placed. At eight o'clock, the besiegers entered the lane, which was soon choked throughout its whole length by men and horses. So far there was no resistance; but when the lane was completely filled O'Neill's men began the attack. The musketeers from the houses opened a raking fire; the defenders on both sides of the lane used their swords, scythes, and pikes with terrible effect; the heavy guns, till then concealed, swept the lane with chain shot. The front ranks of the Puritans cried halt; those behind cried advance; thrown into confusion and in a narrow space, they could do nothing; and the lane was soon filled with dead. A second attack was ordered by Cromwell, but the infantry refused to advance; the cavalry, however, entered the breach and with a fierce onset drove the besieged back; but they shared the fate of the first storming party. For four hours the struggle lasted; and when the besiegers finally retreated, 2,000 of their number were dead. Cromwell declared the Irish were invincible, and resolved to turn the siege into a blockade. But this was not necessary, for O'Neill's provisions and ammunition were nearly gone; and secretly and at night he left the town, and

[46] Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 76-7.

did not halt till he was twelve miles from Clonmel, on the road to Waterford.

Before leaving he arranged that nothing was to be done until his army was gone for at least two hours. This was done, and at midnight the Mayor went to Cromwell's quarters with an offer to surrender. Terms were soon arranged, by which the inhabitants were secured in their lives, liberties and estates; and only when the arrangement was complete did Cromwell learn that O'Neill was gone. In great anger Cromwell asked the Mayor why he had not told him of this at first, and the Mayor innocently replied he would have done so if he had been asked. Yet Cromwell abided by the conditions. On the next day he entered the town, where he had met "the stoutest enemy his army had ever met with in Ireland, and never was seen so hot a storm, of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor in Ireland." From Clonmel Cromwell proceeded to Youghal on his way to England, and in the last days of May he set sail. [47]

[47] Carlyle, Vol. II., pp. 162-3; Carte, Vol. II., p. 115; Murphy, pp. 327-47; Whitelocke's *Memorials of English Affairs*; Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 408-17.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Cromwell's Successors.

In the agreement between Owen Roe O'Neill and Ormond, in October, 1649, it was stipulated that, if O'Neill died or was advanced to some other position, the nobility and gentry of Ulster were to nominate a successor to the command of the Ulster forces; and the person so nominated was to be duly appointed by the Lord Lieutenant for the time being.[1] The necessity for making the appointment soon arose owing to O'Neill's death, and in the following March the Ulstermen met at Belturbet. Ability to lead is not very common in Ireland, but there has rarely been wanting a supply of men who aspire to lead, and believe themselves endowed with the necessary capacity; and at Belturbet there were several candidates for O'Neill's position. His son Henry was a soldier of ability, but had not sufficient influence to be selected, nor had General O'Farrell, nor Conn O'Neill, nor O'Reilly. Both Sir Phelim O'Neill and the Marquis of Antrim were ambitious, and had many supporters, but neither was a man of much capacity, nor able to lead an army except to disaster. Daniel O'Neill might have been chosen if he wished; but he was an earnest Protestant, and, as such, he considered himself disqualified to be the leader of a Catholic army. Moreover, with admirable patriotism, he wished to sacrifice himself for the common good, and

[1] Gilbert, Vol. II., p. 301.

thought that General Hugh O'Neill, then at Clonmel, was the fittest man for the post. He was a man who knew the ways Owen Roe took to manage the people; he would be acceptable to the Scots; and would do nothing contrary to Ormond's command.[2] But even in this supreme crisis, when their race and faith were threatened with extinction, the assembly at Belturbet was dominated by faction. There were such animosities of counties and families that nothing could be determined at any of their meetings unless Heber MacMahon, the Bishop of Clogher, was there to moderate their follies; and at last, after clamour and intrigue and faction had exhausted themselves, the Bishop of Clogher himself was selected as the only one they were willing to follow.[3]

His honesty, his integrity, his unselfish patriotism, his wisdom and moderation in council, his passionate desire for unity among his countrymen, were widely recognised. But he had never commanded an army, however small, and the training of an ecclesiastic is ill-suited for war; nor did many months elapse until it was proved that the appointment was an unfortunate one. One of MacMahon's first acts was to invite the co-operation of the Scots in a letter to Monroe, who then held Enniskillen for the King. But Monroe would not join with those whose hands, he declared, were imbrued with his kinsmen's blood, nor with those who were making the struggle a Church business, and who would regard success as the triumph of Catholicity. If he joined MacMahon's army at all, and he did not wish to do so, it would be as MacMahon's superior rather than as his subordinate. He protested his loyalty to the King, and his personal regard for Ormond and for Clanricarde, yet he was in treaty with the Puritans, and put Enniskillen into their hands.[4] Nor would the Ulster Scots join the Ulster Catholics. This was discouraging, although MacMahon had under him a good army of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse. With O'Farrell his second in command, he marched north, in the end of April, and fixed his headquarters near Charlemont; and from this he sent out one portion of his army, which took Toome on the Bann, and with another portion he

[2] Gilbert, p. 346.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 355.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 390-3; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 110-13.

defeated the enemy near Dungannon. The Puritan forces in Ulster were under Coote and Venables, the former being at Derry, the latter at Newry; and MacMahon's fear was that they might join and fall upon Leinster; or perhaps, from the west, might enter Connaught. For some weeks he was merely observing them; but in the end of May he advanced into the County Derry, and took Dungiven by storm.[5] His position was such that, while he remained at Dungiven, a junction between Venables and Coote was impossible, and his wisest course would have been to await the reinforcements, which were promised from Connaught, and then, having being thus strengthened, to attack Coote and Venables separately. Instead of this, he abandoned Dungiven, and crossing the Foyle into Donegal, advanced to Letterkenny. Venables had already retaken Toome and crossed the Bann, and finding the enemy had gone south, the way was clear for his junction with Coote. The Puritan army thus united was superior to the Irish, for the reinforcements from Connaught had not yet come; and part of MacMahon's had been sent to seize Castle Doe.[6] For MacMahon to fight in these circumstances was to court disaster; and the trained officers in his army endeavoured to dissuade him from giving battle. Both armies were then at Scarrifhollis, near Letterkenny. MacMahon's officers pointed out that the ground was unfavourable to military operations; it was rugged, uneven, and specially unsuited for cavalry; a little delay would enable the force sent to Castle Doe to return; and the enemy meanwhile would be compelled to abandon the position they held, as they were rapidly running short of provisions. But MacMahon would not be advised; and to these wise and prudent appeals he replied, with bad temper and bad taste, that such arguments were only suited to dastards who feared the sight of their own or of others blood. It was an ungenerous taunt, flung at men who knew well how to fight and die; who were far abler men than MacMahon himself, and were equally patriotic and brave. But it goaded them into action; caused them to fling prudence to the winds; and to give battle when all the advantages were on the side of the enemy.

[5] Gilbert, Vol. II., pp. 421-3.
[6] Murphy, pp. 354-5.

The contest was fought out on the 21st of June, and commenced early in the day. For a time the Irish had the advantage. Their fierce onset drove the enemy back, and threw them into confusion; but the rugged ground prevented the cavalry supporting the infantry and pursuing the advantage gained; and the English made a charge of cavalry driving back their assailants. Thus did the battle continue till mid-day, when Coote attacked both in flank and rear, and with his whole force. For a time O'Farrell's infantry held him in check; but before sunset came the Irish were driven off the field, on which 3,000 of their army lay dead, many having been slain after quarter had been given. Lord Enniskillen, the Bishop of Down and Major-General O'Cahan fell in battle; Owen Roe's son Henry, and many other officers, were taken prisoners and put to death. MacMahon, with a small party of horse, fled south, and met, near Enniskillen, the governor of that town with a superior force. The Puritans were too strong; and though the Irish fought bravely, and MacMahon received many wounds, he was ultimately taken prisoner. It seems he was promised quarter, but, once in Coote's hands, he was condemned, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head set up over the gate of Derry.[7] O'Farrell eluded his pursuers, and even got an army again together, and thus helped to prolong the contest, but was never able to effect anything decisive.[8] Sir Phelim O'Neill also escaped, and threw himself into Charlemont, but was not able to hold the place long, and in August, on promise of quarter for himself and the garrison, he surrendered to the Puritans. With the fall of this, the strongest place held by the Irish, all Ulster was lost.[9]

While these disasters were occurring in Ulster, in the other provinces there was division and weakness. Before Clonmel had yet fallen, or Scarrifhollis had been fought, Ormond was at Limerick, and endeavoured to allay the suspicions of the Catholics and establish more cordial relations with them. At this time the Bishops and the Commissioners of Trust were of one mind. They joined in demanding that a Privy Council be appointed;

[7] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 148-52, 213-14; Murphy, pp. 354-9.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 355-6.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 173; Carte, Vol. II., p. 113.

that Catholics should not be dismissed from either civil or military offices; that only reliable men should be given commands; that no taxes should be levied or free quarters enforced without the consent of the Commissioners of Trust; and that of all monies raised for the army or for the government an account should be given. To these demands Ormond replied that he had no power to appoint a Privy Council, but as far as he had he would appoint a council; and he assented to the other demands also, "according to the articles of the Peace of 1648;" and, as if to intimidate the clergy and laity, he showed them a letter from Charles II., authorising him to leave Ireland in case the people would not obey him.[10] The Archbishop of Tuam, and four other Bishops, acting in the name of all the Bishops of Ireland, assured him that they were loyal to him and to the King; and, in the spirit of the decrees of Clonmacnoise, that they had worked hard to remove suspicions and jealousies. A General Assembly of the clergy and laity, which met at Loughrea, were equally emphatic in their assurances, and protested their anxiety to resist the Puritans.[11] Ormond, however, was not satisfied. Limerick, following the example of Waterford, refused to admit a garrison from him, or to recognise his authority, and he demanded that the Catholic Bishops should reduce the stubborn city to obedience. The citizens were remonstrated with by the Archbishop of Tuam and Sir Lucas Dillon, and they prevailed on the Mayor to invite Ormond to visit the city. But Ormond refused, unless he was to be respected there as Lord Lieutenant; he should also have supreme military command within the city, and his soldiers should be quartered there. These demands would be conceded only in part; he would be admitted himself, but not his army; even 150 of his guards would not be allowed to enter, though they were all Catholics, and were specially selected as such by Ormond. When he remonstrated with the Mayor he was referred to the military governor, who assured him, and evidently with truth, that he was but a mere cypher, and that all power was in the hands of the Mayor and Corporation.[12]

[10] Cox, pp. 167-72.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 173.
[12] *Ibid.* pp. 22-3.

These disputes meant disunion and inefficiency, and while they lasted there was little chance of making headway against the enemy. Matters became worse when all Ulster was lost, and when Duncannon and Waterford surrendered. Muskerry was hard pressed in Cork and Kerry; Limerick itself was threatened; a party of the enemy endeavoured to cross the Shannon near Killaloe; and Athlone was besieged by Coote.[13] It was when matters were in this condition that the Bishops met at Jamestown in August, and suggested as the best way to bring relief to "this gasping nation" that Ormond should repair to the King in person, and urge the speedy necessity of supplies being sent. He answered that if he did, great as were the divisions already, in his absence they would be greater still.[14] The King was then in Scotland, and had made terms with the Scotch; and it was part of the bargain that he should denounce the Peace of 1648 and declare, as he did, that he would have no alliance with Irish Catholics.[15] This act of treachery was not known to the Bishops when they again met at Jamestown, on the 12th of August; nor does it appear that it was known to Ormond. But the patience of the Bishops was exhausted. They were exasperated at Ormond's repeated failures, which they attributed to his insincerity and his bigotry; they complained he would put no places of trust in Catholic hands; that he had dismissed capable Catholics from their commands, and appointed Protestants in their places; that he had taken property from Catholic priests and given it to Protestant ministers; that he gave too much power to Inchiquin, a bigot and a persecutor; and that the Catholics of Munster under his rule were in the position of slaves. They protested that Ormond's own incapacity was proved and that no army would follow him; and they recalled how he had been defeated by Jones; how he had left Drogheda unrelieved, allowed Wexford and Ross to be lost, the Barrow to be passed, Callan and Fethard, and so many other places, to fall into the enemy's hands. They declared they could have got better terms from the Parliament than they were getting from him; yet they were still

[13] Cox, pp. 56-7; Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 168, 174-5.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 34; Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 229-31.

loyal to the King; they had already supplied £200,000 for the war, and were ready to give more, but they would have Ormond no longer; and they pronounced sentence of excommunication against all those who would adhere to him.[16] His answer was long and elaborate, in part plausible, in part passionate, but to the Bishops, at least, it was not convincing.[17] The King's agreement with the Scots struck them with dismay; they talked of reviving the old Confederacy as the only way to defend themselves; and certain it was that their declaration against Ormond was to stand, though they wished their censures to be suspended in the case of Athlone, as there was a prospect that the place might be relieved. Feeling that he was suspected of being in secret sympathy with the King's declaration, Ormond published a declaration at Ennis in October, in which he pointed out that the King was not free, and therefore his repudiation of the Peace of 1648 should be ignored; that for himself he stood by that Peace, and would continue to do so; and on these grounds he called for the annulment of the Jamestown declaration, and appealed to the Commissioners of Trust.[18] These gentlemen believed him, and suggested that a National Assembly be convoked at Loughrea. Meantime negotiations between the Commissioners and the Bishops were carried on. But the Bishops would no longer have Ormond, and declared that the soldiers had no heart to fight under him. The National Assembly which met at Loughrea was of the same opinion, It was useless, then, for Ormond to remain in his present position, and in December he appointed Clanricarde as his deputy, and left Ireland for France.[19]

The outlook was then dark. In October a strong Royalist force, great part of which was from Connaught, had burst into the King's County, captured Birr and driven the Parliamentary leader into Ossory. But this officer, Colonel Axtell, soon got reinforcements and turned upon them, driving them across the Shannon, with great slaughter.[20] A few months later, Hewson from Dublin

[16] Cox, pp. 178-84.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 184-206.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-6.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-53.
[20] Gilbert, Vol. III., p. 185.

and Reynolds from Tipperary entered Westmeath and captured Donore and Finea, with all the ammunition and stores they contained.[21] Limerick and Athlone, it is true, still held out, but their capture was only a matter of time; and although Clanricarde had some ability, and as a Catholic received greater support than Ormond, it was evident that even a much abler man, and with much stronger support would be overwhelmed.

It was at this period that some help in money and arms was obtained from the Duke of Lorraine. Whether his desire to help Ireland came from zeal for Catholicity, or whether this zeal was only pretended and meant to find favour at Rome, where he was seeking for a divorce from his wife, it is not easy to say. Cox and Carte are certain it was the latter; but the Irish Catholics were satisfied of his zeal for their faith. So far back as the early part of 1650 one Rochefort of Wexford, with the approval of Charles II., had requested of the Duke a sum of money for the King's service in Ireland, and had offered to hand over to him the fort of Duncannon as security for the loan, for it was as a loan, and not as a gift, the money was asked. The security offered was risky, as Duncannon was in danger of being lost; but the Duke professed his willingness to serve the King and help the Catholics; and he sent an agent, Colonel Synnott, to Galway in May. Nothing, however, was then done; but the negotiations were renewed by Lord Taaffe, who asserted that he had authority both from Ormond and the King, and who had certainly a letter of credence to Lorraine from the Duke of York. It was not, however, until the following February that an accredited envoy came from Lorraine to Galway, bringing with him some arms and money. He was the Abbot of St. Catherine, and was accredited to the "Estates of the Kingdom," a form of credential which displeased Clanricarde, and gave rise to wrangling between him and the Bishops and the Commissioners of Trust. Nor was he satisfied until he sent from himself Sir N. Plunkett and Mr. Browne, who, along with Taaffe, were to negotiate with the Duke, and, if necessary, conclude a treaty, subject, however, to the directions of the Queen, the Duke of York and Ormond, all

[21] Gilbert, pp. 383-4.

of whom were then at Paris. These three Commissioners arrived at Brussels in June, and there met the Bishop of Ferns, who was in high favour with Lorraine, and who took a leading part in the negotiations which followed. In July the treaty was signed. The Duke was recogniseed as Protector Royal of Ireland, and was to restore the King's authority and establish the Catholic religion, and when he had done this, to give up the kingdom to Charles. Meanwhile, he was to nominate all military commanders and carry out all military operations. But in civil affairs he was to be controlled and directed by the Lord Deputy and the General Assembly; nor was he to interfere in judicial affairs, nor make any innovations inconsistent with the fundamental laws of the land; but was to leave to towns and cities in his possession all their ancient privileges. He was to make no peace with the enemy, or even cessation, without the consent of the Deputy and General Assembly; neither were they to make any peace or cessation without his consent. In addition to the £20,000 he had already advanced, he was to advance as much more for the prosecution of the war as it was in his power to give, and as the necessities of the war required. He was not to levy taxes without the consent of the General Assembly, but all the pay of the soldiers, whether raised by taxes or furnished from his own treasury, was to pass through his hands. As security for the monies advanced, Limerick, Galway, Athenry, Athlone, Waterford and Duncannon, when these places were recovered from the enemy, were to be given into his hands, and were to be restored to the King, when all the Duke's disbursements were paid. Finally, both the contracting parties agreed to ask the Pope's blessing, and craved from him that all those placed under censure in the Nuncio's time or since should be absolved. [22]

By two different letters, one to Clanricarde and the other to the Mayor and Corporation of Galway, the Duke announced the exact terms of the treaty. But while the latter body was satisfied, Clanricarde was not, and in a reply to Lorraine stated his objections

[22] Clanricarde's *Memoirs*, pp. 29–32, 42–3, 52–6; Cox, pp. 59–62; Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 150–7, 430–2.

to it. He gratefully acknowledged the Duke's zeal for the Catholic religion, and his affection for the King and for Ireland; but he was not prepared to admit that the General Assembly had authority co-ordinate with his own, or that a treaty could be concluded with the " people of Ireland " which might be displeasing to the Deputy, who was the representative of the King and the depositary of his power. He was emphatic in declaring that the Irish agents at Brussels had gone beyond their powers, and, therefore, he would not recognise the treaty they had made.[23] He protested against their proceedings, and declared all their acts null and void; and he was specially severe on the Bishop of Ferns, whom he described as being ever violent and malicious against the King's authority, and a fatal instrument in the promotion and perpetuation of discord.[24] He urged that the Duke should send the assistance he had promised, but he resented his assumption of the title of Protector as an encroachment on the royal authority; nor was he willing to give anything but thanks for all the Duke professed himself ready to do. It was too one-sided a bargain for the Duke's taste; and he resolved to send no further assistance until there should be a new and authentic treaty; nor would he treat with any further agents from Ireland without the King's special approbation. When the King did send a special agent, some further time had elapsed; the Puritans had made further headway; and the Duke of Lorraine refused to negotiate, declaring that Ireland was lost to the King, and therefore, there was nothing about which they could treat.[25]

While these tedious negotiations went on, another year had passed, a year of triumph for the Puritans and of humiliation for their opponents. Early in June, 1651, Ireton appeared before Limerick. Before investing it, it was necessary to have the line of the Shannon clear; and while he sent one party to cross the river at O'Brien's Bridge, he himself crossed at Killaloe. At this latter place Castlehaven had a strong force, and a resolute and skilful commander might have easily barred Ireton's passage, when the width of the

[23] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 4-5.
[24] Clanricarde, pp. 78-83, 84-7, 114-15; *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. I., pp. 164-5, 232-4.
[25] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. I., p. 256; Cox, pp. 62-6.

river and the difficulties of crossing it in presence of an enemy are taken into account. But Castlehaven was neither resolute nor skilful, while Ireton was both, and was able to make good his passage. Castlehaven himself fled, leaving his tent and plate behind him, some bullets, pikes and powder also fell into the enemy's hands.[26] Killaloe and O'Brien's Bridge were then garrisoned by Ireton, who crossed into Connaught, and effected a junction with Coote. Clanricarde had intelligence that Coote was coming from Ulster, and, getting a strong force, he took up a position in the passes of the Curlews; but Coote, leaving the Curlews on his left and thus avoiding Clanricarde, passed through Mayo to Portumna, which he took, and there he met Ireton, after his successful crossing of the Shannon.[27] In July, Muskerry encountered Broghill in Munster, and on the banks of the Blackwater was defeated; in the battle 500 of his men were slain and many others perished in the river.[28] Finally, about this time, Lord Dillon surrendered Athlone and submitted to the Parliament. He was pardoned for his previous acts, and allowed to depart to Connaught, where he might live at Portumna or Loughrea and get a competency of land, and if he desired to go to England he was free to do so. As to the inhabitants of Athlone, they got quarter for their lives and estates; the soldiers might march to any place in Connaught, and bring their arms, bag and baggage; but the artillery and stores in the town became the property of the besiegers. And thus, except Limerick, every place on the Shannon had passed into the hands of the Puritans.

Lord Dillon was blamed for having surrendered Athlone, and it is certain that he might have held out longer. There were even accusations of treachery made against him.[29] But no such charge could be made in the case of Limerick, where a most heroic defence was made. Before Cromwell left Ireland he offered its citizens, if they would allow his troops to march through the city into Clare, the free exercise of their religion, the enjoyment of their estates and churches, and church livings, free trade and commerce, and

[26] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 226-31.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 233; Cox, p. 66.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 247.
[29] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. I., p. 193.

no garrison to be placed on them.[30] They refused, and were equally determined not to have Ormond and his troops. But they consented to admit Hugh O'Neill their military governor, though he was then badly wanted to bring together the broken remains of the Ulster army, after the defeat of Scarrifhollis. O'Neill was, however, curbed and restrained by the civic authorities within the city; yet he managed to strengthen its defences; and when Sir Hardress Waller, in September, summoned Limerick to surrender, and pointed out the futility of resistance, O'Neill answered that he was no stranger to war and its dangers; that he held the place for King Charles, and was resolved with God's assistance to spill even the last drop of his blood in its defence.[31] Ireton himself soon encamped outside the walls, and again offered the citizens protection, if they would submit. This offer also was declined.[32] The season was then advanced; winter was approaching; and Ireton determined to postpone siege operations until the winter was past. Some minor operations might be undertaken within the next few months; Limerick could be watched; and Ireton retired to winter quarters near Cashel, while other portions of his army were quartered at Castleconnell and Kilmallock.

Early in the next year, one of Ireton's officers, Colonel Ingoldsby, got into communication with a traitor within the walls; but O'Neill was vigilant; the treachery was discovered and the plot failed; and when Ingoldsby, with 1,000 men, approached the city in May, he was foiled, and had to march away in disgust.[33] Nor was it until June, after Castlehaven had been defeated and the Shannon crossed, that the Parliamentary forces appeared on the Clare side of the Shannon. Fresh supplies had just arrived from England; ships sailed up the river with heavy ordnance and siege appliances; and Ireton mounted his heavy guns and mortar pieces and played upon the walls.[34] Limerick was made up of two towns, the Irish and English. The former, on the mainland, was entered

[30] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 123-4.
[31] Gilbert, Vol. III., p. 180.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 227.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 232-3.

through St. John's Gate; the latter, on King's Island, was surrounded by an arm of the Shannon, and connected with Clare by Thomond Bridge. The entrance to King's Island across the bridge was commanded by King John's Castle; on the bridge itself was another castle; and lower down still another, opposite the coast of Clare. The English and Irish towns were connected by Ball's Bridge; the whole city was surrounded by a wall. Ireton's battery of 28 guns and some mortar pieces, placed near Thomond Bridge, began in the middle of June to play upon the castle on the bridge and into the English town; and Thomond Bridge castle was soon taken, and its guns turned on the city. But O'Neill spiritedly replied to this cannonade by an answering cannonade from St. John's Castle; and when Ireton attempted to capture King's Island the first party to land was set upon and every man put to the sword, which so discouraged those who were to follow that the whole design was abandoned. Later on a sally of 2,000 was made, and some damage was done.[35] These successes, however encouraging, could not affect the final issue of the struggle, for there was no prospect of getting such help from outside that the siege might be raised. The fall of Athlone was discouraging; Castlehaven's defeat cut off hope in that quarter; Colonel O'Dwyer's forces were defeated by Sankey; Clanricarde had more than enough to do against Coote in Connaught; while nothing was to be expected from Muskerry, after the disaster which had overtaken him on the Blackwater.[36] On the last day of June, Ireton offered terms of surrender, giving both citizens and soldiers quarter for their lives and property; all soldiers in pay might march out with their horses. arms and baggage, and citizens who might wish to go with them were free to do so; but the clergy and those engaged in the rebellion in the first years of the war, or who were concerned in murders committed, were to receive protection of their lives, but should afterwards submit themselves to the Parliament to be tried.

These terms were rejected, though O'Neill was for accepting them. He was, however, overruled by the citizens, and the struggle

[35] Gilbert, pp. 239-41, 268.
[36] *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 244-8.

THE CITY OF LIMERICK

FROM PACATA HIBERNIA

was prolonged for four months longer, while gradually Ireton's grip tightened on the doomed city.[37] As late as the middle of October the besieged were hopeful, knowing that the winter was coming, and that it would tell severely on the soldiers outside; and one of the Irish soldiers tauntingly predicted to an English soldier outside that instead of the Irish being beaten out with bombshells, they would, on the contrary, beat away the besiegers with snowballs.[38] But faction inside the walls was more potent than the cannon of the enemy. Some were for holding out longer; but others were for surrendering on the best terms they could get. The plague was already in the city, and had struck down many; they knew they would not obtain the terms offered them in June, but thought it better, even to have some sacrificed, so that the remainder might be saved. These, with Fennell at their head, seized on St. John's gate and threatened to turn its guns on the city if terms were not made. The Articles of Agreement were signed on the 27th of October. Both citizens and soldiers got quarter for their lives and properties, except 22 persons, who were especially exempted for having held out so long, and a few others, who had acted as spies. The soldiers were free to leave with baggage, money, and portable goods, but not with arms; and on the 29th they marched out to the number of 1200, and the enemy marched into the city, where they found a good supply of powder and shot, and 34 heavy guns.[39]

Among those specially exempted from mercy were General Hugh O'Neill, General Purcell, the Bishops of Limerick and Emly, five priests, and some others, being burgesses and aldermen of the city. Some of them concealed themselves, but were discovered and executed; others boldly met Ireton; and Hugh O'Neill delivered to him his sword.[40] The life of the Bishop of Limerick was spared, as it was discovered he was of "a more peaceable spirit than the rest"; but the Bishop of Emly, O'Brien, was put to death; and Ludlow remarks that Purcell was a coward, and when about being

[37] Gilbert, pp. 241-4.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[39] *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 254-69: Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, pp. 171-84.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

executed had to be held up by two musketeers, while the Bishop died with more resolution. In the usual manner their heads were posted up on the city gates. O'Neill pleaded for his life, but in no craven spirit. He protested he had only acted as a soldier, and obeyed the commands of his superiors. Some of the officers, impressed with his reasons, wished to save his life; but Ireton was for his execution.[41] Twice was he condemned, but a third time his case was considered, and a majority of the court were for saving his life.[42] In the following January he was sent to London, and committed to the Tower, but the Spanish ambassador interfered on his behalf, and he was allowed to go to Spain, where he assumed the title of Earl of Tyrone, and whence he addressed to Charles II. a letter, in 1660, asking to be restored to the honours and estates which his ancestors had once enjoyed.[43]

Almost immediately after the fall of Limerick, Ireton got sick of the plague. It was said that the Bishop of Emly, when about being executed, protested against his sentence, and, turning to Ireton, predicted that within a fortnight he also would have to meet death. Whether the prophecy was made or not, it is certain that Ireton died within the time named; and when his body was brought to London it was accompanied by his late antagonist, Hugh O'Neill.[44]

The attempt made at this period to revive the old Catholic Confederacy was a failure. Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conal, who was in high favour at Rome, was sent by the Propaganda to Ireland, in the early part of the year, and instructed to have a new Confederacy formed, and to have the country placed under a Catholic Protector, presumably the Duke of Lorraine.[45] He arrived in Galway in March, and by the Deputy and by the Archbishop of Tuam was coldly received. But the Ulster Bishops received him well, and advised the re-establishment of the Catholic

[41] Gilbert, p. 271. He remembered how many lives Cromwell had lost at Clonmel, and that he himself had lost 8,000 at Limerick.
[42] Murphy, p. 385.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2, 392.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 384.
[45] Gilbert, Vol. III., p. 144.

Confederacy; they repeated the condemnation of Ormond and Inchiquin; and they demanded that those who had opposed the Nuncio, three years before, and incurred his censures, should get absolution from these censures. Until they did no good Catholic was to sit with them in council or carry arms by their side.[46] The bishops and clergy everywhere adopted these resolutions, and were all in favour of making terms with the Duke of Lorraine. But Clanricarde was averse to any such course; he and the Archbishop of Tuam had opposed the Nuncio; and Clanricarde called Geoghegan a traitor, who had come to Galway to sow dissension, to infuse bad counsels into the Corporation, and to make terms with the Parliament. And certainly Geoghegan was more friendly with the Parliament than with Ormond and Clanricarde.[47] But while these debates were going on further ground was lost; Athlone and Limerick had fallen, and not an important place was left except Galway.

Since July it had been besieged, and in August the outlying castles of Tirellan, Oranmore and Galway were taken; the besiegers had approached the city walls; their frigates were in the harbour; and the place was closely invested by sea and land. Preston, who had come from Waterford in the previous year, was then governor, and to him Ireton had written, in November, offering quarter for their lives and property to the inhabitants. Under cover to Preston he sent a second letter for the mayor and corporation, warning him that if he suppressed this letter, his head should pay for it. Preston duly delivered the letter, and replied to Ireton's threat that the heads of Ireton's own friends were as unsettled on their shoulders as any in the town of Galway.[48] Limerick had then fallen, and the Galwaymen, under the influence of terror, were disposed to submit, a prospect which so frightened Preston that he fled to France. But they changed their minds when they heard that Ireton was dead; and when Coote offered the same terms they rejected them. They could not, however, hold on. Ludlow succeeded Ireton as Deputy, and was as determined as Ireton to

[46] Gilbert,, pp. 282-3, 289-90.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6, 287-8.
[48] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. I., pp. 225-9.

reduce the place; the numbers who had flocked into the town had swelled the population within the walls, and food was becoming scarce; and two vessels laden with corn for the inhabitants having been attacked by two Parliamentary frigates, one of them was captured, and the other driven on the rocks near Arran. At last it was thought advisable to make overtures to Coote; terms were agreed upon, and on the 12th of April the city surrendered. The town, fort, and fortifications were delivered up; all within the walls got quarter for their lives and personal property, as well as two-thirds of their real estate; clergy were given six months to quit the kingdom; the Corporation charter and privileges were guaranteed, as was liberty of trade; all ship goods taken by land or sea going to or coming frrom the town were to be restored; and all prisoners, natives or inhabitants of Galway or Arran, were to be set free. [49]

The fall of Galway was too great a calamity to be counterbalanced by some minor successes which occurred elsewhere,[50] and its capture was followed by an almost universal submission. The forces in Tipperary under Colonel O'Dwyer laid down their arms in April, as did those in Westmeath under Fitzpatrick, numbering 4,000 foot and 400 horse, and also the Limerick forces under Captain Walsh; Roscommon was given up, and Jamestown and Drumruiske in Leitrim, and Dromagh in Cork, and Ballyshannon and Ballymote. [51] Of greater consequence was the peace made at Kilkenny, on the 12th of May, between the Parliamentary Commissioners and the forces of Leinster under the Earl of Westmeath, who were to lay down their arms by the 1st of June; and special centres were assigned for surrendering to each of the forces in Westmeath, Longford, Queen's County, Carlow and Kildare. With certain specified exceptions, all these troops, officers and men, got protection for life and personal estates, and might also transport themselves to any foreign country at peace with England. As to their real estates, they should abide by the decision of the English Parliament; all prisoners belonging to them were to be released,

[49] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 50-9; Hardiman's *History of Galway*, pp. 129-32.
[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.
[51] *Ibid.*, 304-22.

and might partake of the same conditions; but in return these troops were to deliver up all the places in their power, and all horses and arms. These Articles, called the Articles of Kilkenny, were to be extended to Muskerry and his troops in Munster, to those in Connaught under Colonel Burke and Lord Mayo, and to the Ulster forces under Lord Iveagh and General O'Farrell. [52] This peace was denounced in vigorous terms by the Leinster clergy; but its conditions were very generally acepted; and within the next few months the forces still in the field hastened to lay down their arms, and the garrisons to surrender. [53] Clanricarde himself surrendered in June. He was not in Galway when it was given up to the enemy, nor was he consulted as to the terms made, and he denounced its surrender as base and perfidious. [54] In February he had sent Lord Castlehaven to the King to ask what he was to do. The King's answer was that he could send him no supplies, and that he might make the best conditions with the enemy that he could. These conditions he made in June. He was allowed a free pass to go where he pleased, and soon retired to his estates in England, where he died, in 1659. [55]

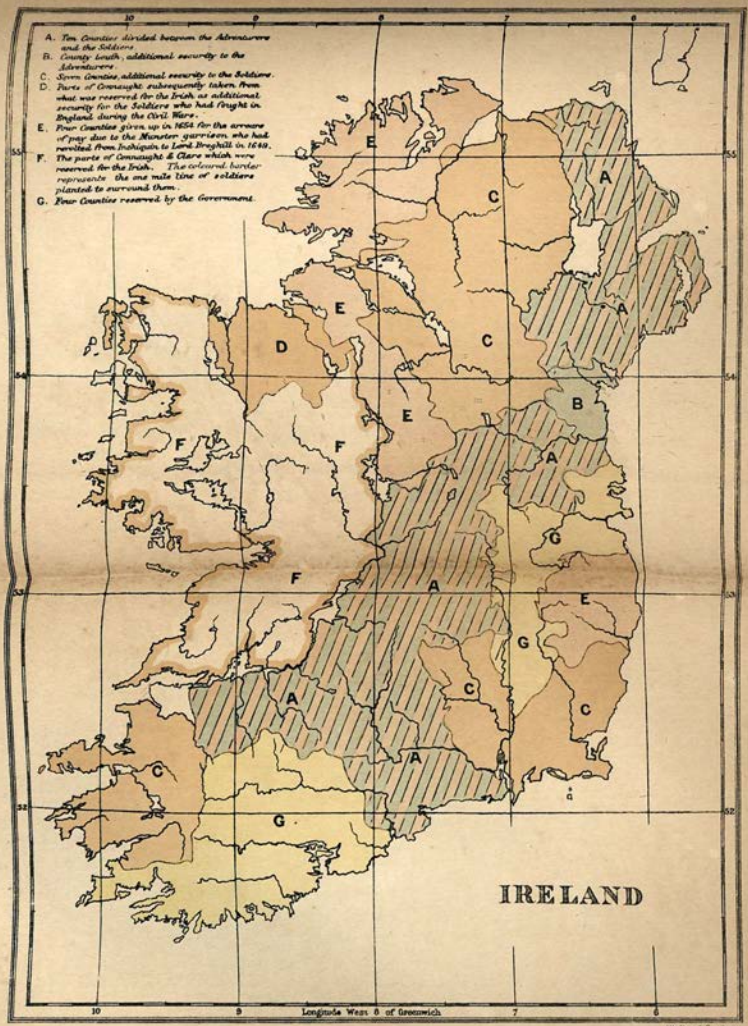
Only the islands off the west coast still remained unsubdued; but the victorious Puritans, who held the cities and the open country in chains, were resolved to leave no refuge for freedom, and soon extended their dominion over the rocks and waves. Arran capitulated in January, 1653, and Boffin in the following month. The former had been aided by Clanricarde who, in April, 1651, had sent 200 musketeers, with ammunition, provisions, and heavy guns; [56] the later island had got at a later date a supply of arms direct from the Duke of Lorraine; [57] nature had made both places difficult to attack and easy to defend, and thus were they enabled to hold out so long. [58] Some attempts at rebellion were made about the same date in Cork and Kerry and Limerick, but they were

[52] Gilbert, pp. 93-111.
[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 325-38, 356.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[55] *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 332-3, 122; Carte, Vol. II., p. 157.
[56] Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 127.
[57] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 358-60.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 363-6.

easily put down; the islands were also surrendered; and in April the last submission was made by a small force in Ulster.[59] Resistance had ceased; the war was ended which had lasted for nearly twelve years, which had wasted so many homes and cost so many lives; and Ireland, reduced to the last extremity of misery and weakness, lay helpless at the feet of her conquerors.[60]

[59] Gilbert, pp. 371-4.

[60] Petty's calculation is, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his figures, that, out of a population of 1,466,000 Irish, 616,000 had perished during these wars. *Tracts Relating to Ireland.* (*The Political Anatomy of Ireland*), p. 312.


A. Ten Counties divided between the Adventurers and the Soldiers
B. County Louth, additional security to the Adventurers
C. Seven Counties additional security to the Soldiers
D. Parts of Connaught subsequently taken from what was reserved for the Irish as additional security for the Soldiers who had fought in England during the Civil Wars.
E. Four Counties given up in 1654 for the arrears of pay due to the Munster garrison, who had revolted from Inchiquin to Lord Broghill in 1648.
F. The parts of Connaught & Clare which were reserved for the Irish. The colored border represents the one mile line of soldiers planted to surround them.
G. Four Counties reserved by the Government.
IRELAND
10
9
8
7
6
55
54
53
52
Longitude West 6 of Greenwich

Weller & Graham

CHAPTER XIX.

The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.

THERE was profound indignation in England when the news of the rebellion of 1641 was received. Up to that date religious toleration had made little progress, either in Catholic or Protestant countries, and to English Protestants it seemed hard that these Irish Papists, belonging to a despised race, and professing a hated creed, should be allowed to live and possess lands where England was supreme. But that they should attack Protestants, rob them of their property, drive them from their homes, and murder them by thousands, this surely was not to be borne. Filled with pity for their persecuted co-religionists and with rage against the hated Papists, there were some Englishmen who wished even to anticipate the efforts of the Government in putting down the rebellion, and they petitioned Parliament, offering to raise, and equip, and maintain a force, provided they received lands in Ireland which were to be forfeited by those who had rebelled. The offer was gratefully accepted; subscriptions were invited; a committee of both Houses of Parliament was appointed for Irish affairs; special treasurers were named to receive, and special commissioners to superintend the spending of the money; and not only English but Dutch Protestants were invited to subscribe and receive in payment a share of those forfeited lands. On subsequent occasions these favourable terms were renewed, and in addition to land, the cities of Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, and Galway were offered for sale.[1] And to quicken

[1] Mahaffy's *Calendar of State Papers* (*Adventurers*)—Preface.

the zeal of intending subscribers, they were told that they would be doing a work acceptable to God; they would help to spread the Gospel, and destroy the Kingdom of Antichrist; they would be serving their own country; they would aid the poor of England and provide them with lands; and they would make Ireland English and Protestant. They were promised that the division of the forfeited lands would be impartial; they were reminded that such lands would be a convenient provision for younger sons who had no lands to get at home, and that whoever subscribed was making a good investment of his money. It was represented that the safety of England itself was in danger. In Parliament it was said the poor Irish Protestants were ruined; that the English soldiers were compelled from starvation to eat their horses; and that if the Irish Catholics succeeded, they would not only destroy Protestantism in Ireland, but root out all Protestants from the Christian world.[2]

These exaggerated statements produced the effect intended. Piety, pity, hatred, zeal for religion, pride of race, hope of gain, all in greater or lesser degree operated on the minds of Englishmen; the appeal met with a not ungenerous response; and in all a sum of £336,000 was subscribed. Some was subscribed to raise an army; a smaller amount was given to maintain a sea force, which was to blockade the Irish coasts, and thus prevent help coming from abroad. It may be noted that a large number of subscribers were from London and its neighbourhood, moved perhaps by the speeches made in Parliament, and the reports circulated in London. From the western counties also many subscribers came, who, no doubt, had seen the refugees from Ireland at their ports, and had listened with pity and rage to the story of their sufferings and their wrongs. But several other parts of England were represented on the subscribers' list; and so were all classes; and side by side with lords and baronets and knights, and members of Parliament, and ministers of religion, were physicians and clerks, and drapers and grocers, and scriveners, and in many cases black-

[2] *Twelve Arguments to Promote the Work.* Pamphlet, reprinted by Traynor, Dublin.

smiths, and tailors and weavers, and bakers, and skinners, and cooks.[3] The amount given varied. Oliver Cromwell gave £300 for the army, and a like amount to equip a sea force; and his female servant gave £200. Many members of Parliament gave £1,000; the City of London gave £10,000; widows came with £20 and with £10; some gave so small a sum as one shilling.[4] Some promised more generously than they gave, and we find that while "Richard Wade of London, carpenter" generously promised the largest individual sum, viz., £6,000, he was content with giving the more modest sum of one hundred pounds. One man gave partly in plate and partly in money, another furnished clothes for the army, another iron and nails, another dried fish, and another ninety dozen of shirts; an apothecary gave syrups and cordials, and ointments and oils, and "twelve simples in Latin with contractions;" while a widow at Bandonbridge claimed that she had contributed a lantern and a grindstone.[5] Those who subscribed were called adventurers, as they adventured their money or goods on Irish land.

Their hope was that the war would soon be over, and one of them, by name Bernard, assured his friend, Farmer, that the war would not last long, strongly advised him to advance some money, and told him he could not lay it out more profitably.[6] These hopes were not realised. In the civil war which soon followed, and which divided England into two hostile camps, the land force raised by the adventurers' money—5,000 foot and 500 horse—was compelled, instead of proceeding to Ireland, to remain in England; and they fought on the Parliamentary side at Edgehill. The sea force, commanded by Lord Forbes, did nothing but hover round Kinsale, and then, proceeding to Galway, they robbed and plundered the town, desecrated the churches, and dug up and burned the bones of the dead.[7] It was not until ten years had elapsed, that the end of the war was in sight. When Galway surrendered,

[3] Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland: List of Adventurers*, p. 403.
[4] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 251-2.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 295, 372-4.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 310.
[7] Prendergast, pp. 74-5; Hardiman's *History of Galway*, pp. 117-18.

and the Leinster forces had laid down their arms, further resistance was seen to be hopeless; the Parliament had indeed triumphed, and it was ordered, in April, 1651, that the adventurers' claims be taken into consideration, and also the claims of those officers and soldiers who had fought in Ireland and had not been paid, and were now to be disbanded.[8] The Parliamentary Committee appointed for the purpose, gave in their report in the following month, and recommended that the adventurers should get the forfeited lands in Munster and Leinster. The condition, however, was imposed that these lands should be planted within three years with Protestants "of any nation but Irish."[9] The adventurers saw no reason for this urgency, and objected that the war was not over, that the country was over-run with outlaws, that labour was scarce, and that it was hard to get suitable tenants in England.[10] Some of those objections disappeared with time; within the next few months there were more surrenders of garrisons, and further laying down of arms; and in August the English Parliament passed an Act for the settling of Ireland.

The spirit of this enactment was harsher and much less merciful than the Articles of Kilkenny, under which so many had laid down their arms. By these Articles a hope was held out that, except those who were guilty of murder or robbery in the first year of the war, all persons having real estate should be left such portion as would comfortably maintain them, or would comfortably maintain their families, if they themselves should choose to go beyond the sea.[11] The Act of Parliament in August, indeed, declared that it was not intended to extirpate the whole nation; and that husbandmen, ploughmen, labourers, artificers, and those having personal estate less than £10 in value were to get pardon for life and estate. But neither for estate nor life was pardon extended to those who had aided or promoted the rebellion in the first year of the war, or who had a hand in the robberies or murders committed. All priests who promoted the rebellion or advised its continuance, were to be

[8] Gilbert's *History of Affairs in Ireland* (1641-52), Vol. III, p. 311.
[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 318-19.
[10] Prendergast, pp. 83-5.
[11] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 95-9. (Copy of the Articles.)

dealt with similarly, as well as all who, at any time during the war, not being themselves in regular pay as soldiers, had killed any English, whether soldier or not; or who, if they were regular soldiers, had killed any English not in arms. No mercy was to be shown to those who did not lay down their arms within twenty-eight days; and a long list of distinguished men, over a hundred in number, were proscribed by name, and excluded from all mercy, among whom were Lords Ormond, Clanricarde, Castlehaven, Inchiquin, Muskerry, also Sir Phelim O'Neill, and Bramhall, Protestant Bishop of Derry. Of those not so proscribed all who were officers, civil or military, and as such had acted against the Parliament, were to be banished from the country, two-thirds of their estates to be forfeited, and the remainder assigned in some other part of the country as a maintenance for their wives and children. Those who laid down their arms within twenty-eight days, were not liable to banishment, but should forfeit one-third of their estates, and get an equivalent for the remainder in some other part of the country; and the same conditions were imposed on all those who had not shown a constant good affection to the Parliament during the whole course of the war.[12] Finally, those who had made special terms when laying down their arms might get the benefit of these terms in spite of the Act of Parliament; but this question was to be decided by Parliamentary Commissioners. This enactment caused widespread discontent. The people felt that faith was not kept with them, that the Articles of Kilkenny were not fairly interpreted, and in some few cases the popular discontent found expression in open rebellion.[13]

But such rebellion could at best be spasmodic and ineffectual; it did not alter the plans of the Parliamentary Government, and a High Court of Justice was established to try those who were accused, and to mete out to them, if guilty, the punishment of their crimes. Many years before (in 1644), Lord Maguire had been tried in London for his share in the rebellion. He demanded at his trial to be tried by a jury of his peers; he demanded counsel; he asked time to bring

[12] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 341-6. (Copy of Act of Parliament.)
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

some witnesses from Ireland; but each of these requests was refused. Nor would he be allowed a priest, and while on the scaffold he was tortured by the sheriff on one side, and a Protestant clergyman on the other, who pressed on him their spiritual aid, threatened him with eternal torments if he did not make revelations which would incriminate others, took forcibly out of his pocket a crucifix and a beads which he carried, and snatched from him a form of preparation for death, which he held in his hand and from which he read, and which was sent him by some kind friend, who mourned his fate and affectionately signed himself, " your poor affectionate servant, your poor Gray." [14] The High Court of Justice, which commenced its sittings in October 1652, and which sat at intervals for nearly two years, was not so cruel as the Court which tried Maguire; but the prejudice of the judges was apparent, and evidence was admitted which impartial justice would have rejected. Nor does there appear to have been proper legal advice at the service of the prisoners. Yet not all that were accused were found guilty, and if Sir Phelim O'Neill was convicted, on the other hand Lord Muskerry was set free. After the first session, in December, of those tried, 24 were acquitted and 32 were condemned; at the subsequent sessions in the following year the proportion found guilty was higher. Colonel Fennell, for instance, though he had helped to betray Limerick to Ireton, was found guilty of having committed two murders, and Lord Mayo of having gone into rebellion after having submitted.[15]

There could be no difficulty in finding Sir Phelim O'Neill guilty of having promoted the rebellion; but the evidence that he was a party to the murder of Lord Caulfield was neither clear nor convincing; and the attempt to get him to confess that he had a Commission to raise troops from Charles I. was a failure. For he quite candidly confessed that the Commission he used in the beginning of the war was a forgery; that the King's seal which he affixed to it was found at Lord Caulfield's residence at Charlemont, and was affixed to the forged document by the aid of one Mr.

[14] Gilbert, Vol. I., pp. 620-48.

[15] Miss Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 232-35.

Harrison. Even on the scaffold he was again asked if this commission was real or forged, and he was promised his life and estate, and his liberty, if he could give any material proof that he had such a Commission from the King. The Puritans were, no doubt, anxious to blacken the memory of the murdered monarch, but Sir Phelim O'Neill did not wish to perjure himself, even if the Puritans were anxious that he should, and it is not clear that they were, for he was asked for material proof. Instead of being able or willing to give such, he declared before God and His holy angels, that he never had such a Commission from the King, and he heartily begged the prayers of those who listened to him that God would forgive him his sins and have mercy on his soul.[16] From the records of the High Court of Justice, it appears that, except O'Neill, and one Manus MacMahon, found guilty of some murder at Carrickmacross, not a single other person in Ulster was found guilty of murder, a strong commentary on the exaggerated statements about the Ulster massacres and the thousands which the bloodthirsty Catholics had done to death.

The Irish Government at that time was in the hands of four Commissioners, Fleetwood, Ludlow, Corbett and Jones. Fleetwood, who was Cromwell's son-in-law, was Viceroy and Commander-in-chief of the forces. The others were associated with him only in his civil capacity, and especially in the work of planting the forfeited Irish lands. All were subject to a Parliamentary Committee for Irish affairs which sat in London, and of which Cromwell was a member; but the Irish Commissioners were not interfered with, and with all zeal endeavoured to carry out the orders they had received. These orders were to spread the Gospel in Ireland, to debar Catholics from all offices, to assess taxes for the payment of the army, and to remove anyone they pleased from his dwelling and plant him elsewhere.[17] They were assisted in carrying out their work by sub-commissioners in each district, called Commissioners of Revenue, as well as by a standing Committee at Dublin, of which Lord Broghill was a member, and whose special duty it was to

[16] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 367-9; Hickson, Vol. II., pp. 180, 253, 376-8.
[17] Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. VIII., p. 175.

superintend the work of transplanting.[18] As to those who were to be transplanted there was no difficulty, for that was decided by the Act for the Settling of Ireland, and in October, 1652, this Act, with its fateful provisions, was announced in each district "by sound of trumpet and beat of drum."[19] The further question where the transplanters were to go was decided in September, 1653, by an Act of Parliament, called "An Act for Satisfaction of Adventurers in Lands and Arrears due to the Soldiers and other public Debts."[20] Ten counties were to be divided between the adventurers and soldiers — Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, King's and Queen's Counties, Meath, Westmeath, Down, Antrim and Armagh. All Louth also, except the Barony of Ardee, was assigned to them, in case there was not a sufficiency of land in the ten counties named. For the soldiers lately disbanded, or about to be disbanded, the barony of Ardee in Louth was specially reserved; so also were three baronies in Fermanagh and seven in Cork, and a small portion of Connaught—near the town of Sligo. The baronies of Imokilly in Cork and Castleknock in Dublin were to be given to maimed soldiers, and the widows of soldiers. The Commonwealth reserved in its own hands all castles, forts, and mines, all towns, the counties of Kildare and Carlow, part of Cork, and all Dublin except Castleknock. They also reserved all tithes and church lands, for the Puritans wanted no such dignitaries as archbishops, bishops or deans.[21] This large appropriation to the Government was required to satisfy public debts, as well as to reward favourites and friends of the republican cause.[22]

The County of Clare and the province of Connaught were assigned to the transplanted Irish, and in October, 1653, the provisions of the Act of Parliament were proclaimed in each "district by sound of trumpet and beat of drum." Fathers and heads of families should transplant themselves before the first of January following, others of the family by the first of May. Catholic Irishwomen who

[18] Prendergast, p. 146.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 96-7.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[21] *The Down Survey*, pp. 354-70—(From Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances.*)
[22] Prendergast, pp. 94-5.

had married English Protestants before December, 1650, might stay, but only on condition that they became Protestants; boys under 14 years and girls under 12 might also stay, if they were in Protestant service, and were brought up Protestants; and the same privilege was granted to those, who, during the whole war, had shown a constant good affection to the Parliament of England. The accused might have fought in the King's Army, but only against the native Irish in rebellion; they might be of English descent and even Protestants; they might have never fought on any side; they might, having fought on the King's side, have deserted to the Parliament, as in fact the Munster garrisons had done. All this would not save them; and, if at any time they had aided the enemies of the Parliament, even though the aid given was unwilling and resistance meant death or ruin, in such cases they were held guilty, and must with the others cross the Shannon. Husbandmen, ploughmen, artisans, might follow their masters, but if they wished they might remain; partly because they would be useful to the new English planters; partly because, without priests to advise them or the gentry to lead them, it was hoped they would become English and Protestant; and again because without them the gentry should work, and would either sink to the level of peasants or become extinct.[23]

All others should go, the sick, the infirm, the aged, the paralytic, the blue-eyed daughter of 4 years or that other with full face and flaxen hair,[24] the grandsire whose eyes were dim with years and who tottered feebly along, the widow whose husband or children had fallen in battle, the wife whose soldier-husband had quitted Ireland and sought for a home in a happier land. It was the exodus of a nation. They left the fertile plains of Tipperary and Limerick, and Meath for Connaught, with its bogs and rocks, and heather-clad hills. They were going to a province where they had not a house to shelter them or a friend to welcome them; and they were leaving their own homes and fields, the homes in which they were born, and which were made sacred to them by so many recollections of joy and sorrow, of laughter and of tears. They were driven from

[23] Prendergast, pp. 96-102.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

the fields over which as children they had played, from the rivers in which they had fished, from the hills over which they had coursed with their faithful hounds. But regrets were futile and tears and entreaties were vain, their homes and fields were wanted for the stranger, and across the Shannon they should go.

Before proceeding to Connaught to get land, each head of a family was bound to draw out a statement, or a Particular, as it was called, in which he set down his age and the ages of the several members of his family, and described their appearance, also the number of the servants, tenants and friends who were to accompany him, as well as the number of his cattle, sheep, horses, pigs and goats, and the amount of his tillage. This statement he presented to the Commissioners of his district, getting a certificate in exchange, which he presented to the Connaught Commissioners at Loughrea, whose business it was to assign him lands, in proportion to his present belongings and former estate. But this assignment was only conditional and temporary, an assignment *de Bene Esse.* Later on there were to be Commissioners at Athlone who would go more fully into his case, and make a final settlement of his claim.[25] Without waiting for this, however, and having got his assignment *de Bene Esse,* he was to go back to his former home, and take with him his family and goods into Connaught before the 1st of May following. In some cases this took place; in many others there were remonstrances and protests, and petitions that they might be dispensed from transplanting, if only for a time. They wanted time to save their crops; their stock was not in a condition to be driven; there was sickness in the family, one had a shaking palsy, another was ninety years old and blind, another had lost his reason. Some pleaded their services to the Commonwealth. One had turned informer and caused the conviction of some found guilty before the High Court of Justice. An O'Neill boasted that he had betrayed his relative, Sir Phelim O'Neill. Another had shown constant good will to the army, and had the Parliamentary officers lodged in her house. The inhabitants of Cashel pleaded a promise of favours from Cromwell; those of Limerick that they had opened

[25] Prendergast, pp 103-6.

its gates to Ireton. The Leinster forces who surrendered in 1652 pleaded the Articles of Kilkenny. These petitions and others of the kind were in most cases refused, or, if granted, it was only for a time, and on condition that the head of the family proceeded at once to Connaught and remained there.[26] Even the grandson of the poet Spenser was transplanted from Cork, in spite of the fact that Cromwell pleaded on his behalf. The grandfather had favoured and foreshadowed in his writings the ruthless policy of Cromwell; the grandson had become a Catholic, and as such was destined to feel in his own person the severity and injustice of what his grandfather had taught.[27]

In the meantime, neither the adventurers nor soldiers were idle, and even before the lands east of the Shannon were vacant, the distribution of them had begun. By the Act of Satisfaction (1653) a Committee of London merchants was appointed "to regulate, order, and dispose the drawing of lots for ascertaining to the said planters where their dividends of lands should be." For every subscription of £600 there was to be an allotment of 1,000 acres in Leinster, the same quantity in Munster for £450, and in Ulster for £200. Bog and wood and mountain were given in addition to the planters without additional pay, and in proportion to the lands assigned them. This Committee sat in Grocer's Hall, and was sometimes called the Committee of Claims, and sometimes the Committee of Lottery,[28] for they first examined the claims of adventurers and then assigned lands to them by lot. In some cases the adventurer was dead, leaving his share to be divided, in one instance, into seven parts. In another case a fifth part was assigned to a sister, the remainder equally between nephews and nieces;[29] in yet another case the share was divided into twelve parts.[30] One adventurer died without disposing of his lands; another had sold his share of £400 for £160, another his share of

[26] Prendergast,, pp. 110-18.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 118, note. Cromwell described him as being a "gentleman of a civil conversation."
[28] *Down Survey*, pp. 353-4; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 250.
[29] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 304.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 84.

£50 for £38,[31] and large amounts of land were thus cheaply acquired by Sir John Clotworthy and Erasmus Smith. When the identity of the claimant and the amount of his subscription was ascertained, lots were drawn, first, for the province, then, for the county in that province, and lastly, for the barony in which their lands were to be.[32] Half of each barony in the ten counties named was given to the adventurers, and half to the soldiers, and lots were also cast to decide which was to be assigned to each.[33] The Commissioners at Grocer's Hall issued certificates to each adventurer, who was to present himself before the Commissioners of Accounts in Ireland, and these gave him a certificate assigning him his allotted land. Instead of a certificate each soldier got a *debenture* from a board of officers at Dublin; land was then assigned him by lot; he delivered up his debenture and got a certificate of possession in exchange, and this was the legal title to his land.[34]

But before the planters, whether adventurers or soldiers, were actually settled down on the lands, there were many difficulties to be overcome, and many complaints were made. The soldiers and adventurers disagreed. The soldiers found fault with the lands they received.[35] They complained that they had not been given the full amount of lands due them, and in fact they had to take less than two-thirds of their claims (12s. 3d. in the £). Some of them had been cheated by their officers, and had sold their debentures to them or to others and a regular traffic in these debentures was carried on.[36] They complained that the lands which they ought to have got were in some instances given to delinquent Protestants, who ought to have been transplanted, but instead were pardoned on payment of a fine.[37] And they were specially wroth with the Munster garrisons, who had not shown a constant good affection, and who on being commanded to transplant to Connaught, refused to go. Instead of being punished, as they deserved, they were

[31] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 109, 117-18.
[32] *Down Survey*, p. 253.
[33] Prendergast, p. 94.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 198-201.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 224-6, 237-9.
[37] Mahaffy's *Calendar*—Preface.

pardoned, through the influence of Cromwell, and were assigned the baronies of Barrymore and Muskerry in Cork.[38] Lastly, they said the government survey ordered was incorrect, that the surveyors had favoured the adventurers, and were dishonest and corrupt.[39] The adventurers' on their side, were dissatisfied, even though Louth and Kildare had been added on to the other ten counties, lest they might not have their due share of land ; and they had a survey made themselves, which, however, the Commissioners at Dublin refused to accept, declaring that it was incorrect and fraudulent, and could not be allowed to stand.[40] But when a new survey was ordered by the Government, and was carried out by Dr. Petty with great care and ability, they were still unsatisfied. The army expressed satisfaction with Petty's survey and accepted the lands assigned them, and the last batch of soldiers were disbanded and put in possession of their lands by the end of 1656.[41] Petty himself went to London to arrange all outstanding difficulties between the adventurers and soldiers. But the former were not easily satisfied. They desired that their own survey should stand ; they wanted to keep what lands they had, no matter how acquired ; they objected to Petty's survey, and suggested that soldiers and adventurers still unsatisfied should be sent to Louth.[42] Ultimately, however, the vast majority of the adventurers professed themselves content with Petty's award.[43]

Yet so late as the end of 1658 some portion of the army still complained of injustice ;[44] and, in the next year, some unsatisfied adventurers petitioned Parliament and avowed that they had been defrauded, and that lots had not been honestly cast.[45]

In their new possessions, in the houses made by others hands, it might disturb the planters' sense of security and peace, if the dispossessed owners or their friends were allowed to remain among them ; the priests also, and the Irish soldiers, or swordsmen, might

[38] Prendergast, pp. 166-76.
[39] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 390.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20.
[41] *Down Survey*, p. 129.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 249.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 267.
[45] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 393-4.

give trouble; and no pains were spared by the ruling powers to have all these classes removed. Every facility was given to these Irish soldiers to volunteer for foreign service; when garrisons surrendered it was often stipulated that they should go abroad; and before the plantation had well begun 40,000 of them had left Ireland. They went chiefly to Spain, where the English wished the whole Irish nation had gone. But some also served in France and Austria and Venice; and everywhere they went they covered their country with glory, exhibiting a patience, a fidelity, a courage, a reckless disregard of danger and death in battle, which, if exhibited at home under capable leadership, might have saved their country from subjugation and ruin.[46] The priests were the objects of special resentment. Any who had counselled the rebellion, or urged its continuance, had no mercy to get, and if captured, had only to expect the fate of Sir Phelim O'Neill. An edict was issued commanding all priests to leave Ireland within twenty days. Whoever concealed one was liable to be put to death, and whoever knew of a priest's hiding-place, and did not give information, was to have his ears amputated and to be whipped.[47] In 1652-3, many priests went with the swordsmen to Spain. Of those who were taken at a later date (1655-7), some were put to death, and some were shipped to Barbadoes. Two years later, those captured were sent to Boffin or Arran Isles, where they were kept as in a prison, and got but sixpence a day to live on.[48] But others lived on among their enemies, disguised as ploughmen and shepherds, and ministered to the poor Catholics around them. As for the transplanted, the bulk of them had crossed the Shannon before the planters came to take possession, to such an extent, that, when the government survey of Tipperary was being made, there was no one to point out the mearings of the lands, and some families had to be brought back from Connaught for the purpose.[49] The wives and children who might have remained to gather in the crops were compelled to pay the planters a rent from the 1st of

[46] Prendergast, p. 87.
[47] Lingard, Vol. VIII., p. 178.
[48] Prendergast, pp. 322-5.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

May, 1654; and when the planters came to take formal possession, these women and children were rudely cast out, without even a cabin to shelter them, or grass to get for their cows.[50] Of those who still lingered on, and did not go to Connaught, some, when taken, were put to death, no doubt to terrify others. The greater number, however, were only imprisoned; but when the jails were full they were shipped off as slaves to Barbadoes.[51]

Yet the planters were not happy, for the country which they came to occupy was turned into a desert. It was no uncommon thing in these wars for a Parliamentary officer to have scythes and Bibles served out together to his troops. The scythes were to cut down the corn and thus have the natives, and above all the soldiers, without food. The Bibles were to stimulate their holy zeal against the hated Papists, for with the Puritans preaching and fighting, prayer and murder went hand in hand.[52] In consequence of some disturbances in the early part of 1653, an edict went forth to lay waste the Counties of Kerry, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Tyrone, Monaghan, Armagh and Wicklow, and part of the Counties of Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary, besides Clare, Galway, Roscommon and Sligo beyond the Shannon. Over this wide extent of territory crops and houses were destroyed, and "no mankind allowed to live there except within garrisons." [53] In his march from Waterford to Limerick, Ireton passed through a district of 30 miles without seeing a house or a living creature. The land was fertile as any land could be, but war had done its work, and all around was desolation and ruin. Three-fourths of the cattle were destroyed, and a fresh supply of cattle had to be imported from Wales. Mutton was so scarce, that nobody could kill a lamb without a licence. Tillage had ceased.[54] Hunger and death were on every side. It was rare to see the smoke issuing from a chimney by day, or a fire or candle lighted by night. When two or three cabins were discovered, they were tenanted only by

[50] Prendergast, pp. 109-10.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 142-6.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[53] Gilbert, Vol. III., pp. 371-2.
[54] Prendergast, pp. 79-80, 308.

women and children and old men. Children who had lost their parents were frequently attacked and eaten by wolves; some were found feeding on weeds or dead bodies; and a party of soldiers were attracted one dark night by a light, and drawing near they found it was a ruined cabin through the window of which they saw some old women and children; a corpse lay broiling on the fire, and as it was roasted they cut pieces and ate. To get rid of these troublesome women and children, the Government contracted with some merchants of Bristol, and a regular and continuous slave trade was carried on. The old women and men, being of no use, were allowed to starve, but the younger people were hunted down as men hunt down game, and were forcibly put on board ship, and sold to the planters in Barbadoes. The men and boys were put to work in the sugar plantations; the girls and women—wives and widows of officers and soldiers, gently nurtured, perhaps, and in manners refined—were to be the wives or mistresses of the West-Indian planters, to take the place of negresses and maroons. Some on the long sea voyage sickened and died, and became the food of sharks, and to them fate was kind. Others were duly landed at Indian Bridges.[55] Their beauty was their ruin, and attracted their masters' lustful eyes, and in that land of the tropics and the trade winds they lived as in a prison, their faith banned, their race and nation despised, their virtue outraged, their tears derided; and as they looked out on the waving fields of sugarcane, they sadly thought of their own dear land, with its fields so fertile and so green, now separated from them for ever by thousands of miles of rolling sea.

The wolves were also a cause of trouble to the adventurers and soldiers, who had driven the Irish over the Shannon. Wolf hunts were regularly organized, and whoever brought in the head of a she-wolf received £6; for a dog-wolf it was £5; for a cub from 10 to 40 shillings.[56] But worse even than the wolves were the Tories. The name occurs for the first time in a proclamation by Ormond (1650) in which he speaks of "Idle Boys" or Tories.[57] But

[55] Prendergast, pp. 89-93; Ligon's *History of Barbadoes.*
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 333 note.

they existed long before, and were simply bands of outlaws, who lived in the woods and mountains, and robbed houses or waylaid passers by, not sparing even the priests, by whom they were often excommunicated. [58] The various plantations added to their number, the plantations of Ulster and Wicklow and others, the plantations in Cromwell's time most of all. They were then composed of various elements, the original "Idle Boys" or robbers, the dispossessed landlords or tenants who refused to transplant, but instead took to the woods and mountains, the swordsmen who had not emigrated, or those who had, but after a time had come back, bringing arms with them. They lived in organized bands, and fell like wolves on the English settlers, driving away their cattle, taking their goods, burning their houses, often murdering the inmates. The Government was puzzled, for the Tories were hard to catch, and a law was enacted that the Catholic inhabitants of a district where an outrage was committed should make good the damage. This being impossible to carry out, owing to the poverty of the people, it was enacted that, where a crime was committed and the Tories were not caught, four Catholics, in some cases all the inhabitants, should be transplanted to the West Indies. A price was set on the heads of Tories varying from £1 to £30, according to their rank. Lastly, the Irish themselves were employed to hunt them down, and a Major Kavanagh of Wicklow was dispensed from transplanting and left his estate, on condition that he did effective service against the outlaws. But the Tories still flourished, and up to the Restoration, and long after, they were a trouble and a torment to the English settlers. [59]

Such was the state of things east of the Shannon, but in Connaught the troubles and miseries were greater still. Regardless of any arrangement between Ormond and the Confederate Catholics, Coote and others in the interests of the Parliament had repeatedly swept over it and laid it waste. It prolonged the war to the last; it was included in the edict of 1653, which prescribed that the people were to be cleared from the open country and forced

[58] Gilbert, Vol. II., p. 362.
[59] Prendergast, pp. 333-47.

to dwell within the garrison towns;[60] and the plague, at first confined to Galway, was ultimately carried throughout the province. It was to this province, wasted by war, famine, and disease, whose soil is the poorest in Ireland, that the Irish landholders were driven. The Loughrea Commissioners were ordered to have none from Kerry, or Cork, or Limerick planted in Clare, lest, perhaps, across the broad bosom of the Shannon, some one might catch a glimpse of the home from which he was driven and on this his lingering glance might rest. For a similar reason, none from Cavan, or Fermanagh, or Tyrone, or Donegal, were to be planted in Leitrim; and those who had dwelt ten miles east of the Shannon were to be planted at least ten miles west of it. Nor were persons from the same locality to be planted together. Finally, all were to be cut off from the Shannon and the sea, and should not dwell in towns; the islands were to be cleared of Irish, and given over to the disbanded soldiers, who were also to get a strip of land, four miles wide (afterwards narrowed to one) running along the Shannon and the sea; and thus would the natives be effectually hemmed in.[61] Protestants in Connaught who had sided with the Parliament might get land elsewhere, and no doubt gladly shook the dust of the province off their feet;[62] none others could, but they were liable to be changed from one barony to another, as in fact they often were.

Subject to these limitations, the Loughrea Commissioners issued their certificates for a first settlement; and with these the transplanters proceeded to Athlone, where a Court of Claims was set up, to examine what amount of land they formerly held, and what, if any, was their guilt during the war. To ascertain this latter, the books of the Confederate Catholics were seized at Kilkenny and conveyed to Athlone. They became known as the Black Books of Athlone, and it was woe to those whose names were found in them, either as members of the Confederation, or as having in any way aided the Confederate cause. In some cases the claimants were adjudged guilty and got no lands; in others they

[60] Gilbert, Vol. III., p. 372.
[61] Prendergast, pp. 148-52.
[62] *Down Survey*, pp. 380-1.

got but a small quantity; in others part of what they got was seized upon by corrupt transplanting officers, whom they were unable to bribe with money. The assignments made at Athlone were final settlements, which the transplanters brought back again to Loughrea, and the Commissioners there put them in possession of their lands. It was weary work for the claimant, travelling from Loughrea to Athlone, watching the sittings of the Court, clamouring for an urgent hearing, trying to win favour from the judges or bribe the officials; and when he had come back to Loughrea to be obliged, with his wife and children and cattle, perhaps to travel far, and get but a barren patch of land for his share.[63] Lord Trimleston, for instance, from the rich lands of Meath, was set down at Monivea, in Galway, where the land was at best but indifferent. John Talbot from Malahide, near Dublin, got his share in the wilds of Erris in Mayo; Lord Roche of Fermoy was sent to the Barony of the Owles, in the same county;[64] and noblemen and gentlemen who had known luxury and wealth, were lodged, like peasants, in cabins filled with smoke.[65] All Connaught, with the exception of the belt of land named and a small portion of Sligo, was originally promised to the natives, but this promise was not kept in the actual settlement, as finally carried out. The soldiers got the whole of the County of Sligo, and in Mayo the barony of Gallen and part of Tirawley; while the barony of Clare in Galway was reserved for the Government; Sir Charles Coote and some other officers reserved lands for themselves; and Henry Cromwell, Oliver's son, took for his share the Castle of Portumna and 6,000 acres which surrounded it.[66]

The towns and cities, during this period, were treated with great severity. Neither Irish nor Catholics were allowed to dwell in them, and all such, whether of English descent or not, were expelled from Limerick, Clonmel, Cashel, Waterford, and other cities and towns. If transplantable, they should go to Connaught; in any case, they could not come within two miles of any

[63] Prendergast, pp. 155-9.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60, 164.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 163, *vid etiam, Map of Connaught.*

town, unless they had a special licence to do so, and this was rarely given.[67] The inhabitants of Galway were placed on a different footing, and by the terms of surrender were allowed to remain. But the taxation became so excessive that some left the city, not being able to stand the strain. Those who remained had then to bear the whole burden. The tax was collected weekly, the collection being announced every Saturday by sound of trumpet; and if not instantly paid the soldiers rushed into the houses and took what they pleased. Even this was not enough, and in 1655, on the pretext that Spain might find sympathisers in the city, in the war which was threatened, all the Irish and Catholic inhabitants were expelled, and upwards of 1,000 round the city were seized and sent to the West Indies. All this was done by Sir Charles Coote, who was thanked by the Government for the thorough manner in which the clearance was effected. But he had left within the walls some bed-ridden people, and the savage order was sent him that even these were not to be left, but were to be removed as soon as possible. The departing citizens got, or were promised, some compensation for their houses, which were offered to settlers from Liverpool or Gloucester. But few settlers came. The fine houses of Galway, among the finest in the kingdom, fell into ruins; bustling and busy streets were replaced by silent and empty ones, and the trade of the city received such a shock that it never after recovered.[68]

Such, then, was the Cromwellian settlement, which, instead of settling, unsettled everything; laid deep and permanent the foundations of class hatred and sectarian animosity; still further embittered the relations between two races; and founded a land system which has been the despair of governments and statesmen, and which, more than two centuries later, in the interests both of England and Ireland, it has been found necessary to destroy. It was Cromwell's work, and to him is due the credit or shame. It was carried out with a thoroughness and a severity almost without parallel, yet, even in Cromwell's own day, its failure appeared, and the barriers

[67] Prendergast, p. 202.
[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 303-6; Hardiman's *Galway*, pp. 134-9.

he had raised were already being broken down. In spite of all laws, the English planters took Irish tenants, employed Irish servants, married Irish wives, learned their customs, spoke their tongue, embraced their faith.[69] The weird fascination of the Irish nature was again potent with the stranger; he was attracted, absorbed, assimilated; and in the next generation the sons of Cromwellian troopers fought against the Protestant William and in favour of the Catholic James, their hearts were bitter against England, and their eyes kindled at the recital of Irish suffering and Irish wrong.[70] Cromwell died in 1658, and is counted among the great men of England; indeed, amongst a section of Englishmen, the regicide of the seventeenth century has become the hero of the nineteenth and of the twentieth centuries, about whom books are written and on whom praises are showered. His features are preserved by the sculptor's chisel and on the canvas of the painter, and are familiar to us all—the thick lips, the coarse, cruel mouth, the heavy jaw, the swollen face, the dreamy mystic's eye. But in Ireland his memory is execrated as the memory of no other Englishman has ever been. In the Irish mind the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford are still vividly recalled; in the Irish heart there is still a pang for the exiled soldiers, the ruined townsmen, the beggared nobles, the murdered priests, the starved children, the broken hearted girls in that far-off West Indian Isle. Among Irishmen everywhere the "curse of Cromwell" has in it something specially malignant, and the name of Cromwell is mentioned with rage and hate, not indeed unmingled with awe.

[69] Prendergast, p. 233.
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 260-6.

CHAPTER XX.

After the Restoration.

THOSE in England who fought against the tyranny of Charles I., and expected that despotic government was over when his destruction was accomplished were soon grievously disappointed.[1] The oligarchy which, under the name of a Council of State, succeeded the murdered monarch, had but crude notions of popular government. From the first the Council was dominated by Cromwell; after his victories in Ireland and Scotland, his influence became overwhelming and irresistible; and when he became Lord Protector, he was invested with more extensive powers than any of the Stuart Kings had ever enjoyed. Under his rule men were thrown into prison and kept there without sufficient cause, illegal tribunals were set up, juries were packed, taxes raised without the consent of Parliament, and Parliament itself more than once violently dissolved. Everything depended on the will of one man, and neither civil nor religious liberty could be said to exist.[2] Discontent was universal; even the army, which supported all his measures, and which he was always careful to flatter, at length became restive; the republican spirit of some of its members revolted at the Protector's despotism; and when he died it soon

[1] "Enemies are swept away," said Carlyle, "extinguished as in the brightness of the Lord, and no Divine Kingdom and no incipiency of such as yet in any measure come. These are sorrowful reflections." *Cromwell's Letters*, Vol II., p. 371.

[2] Lingard, Vol. VIII., p. 270.

became evident that such despotic government as his would not long be endured.

Oliver himself, had he lived, might have protracted the fall of the Protectorate, and overawed the various malcontents; but his son was weak; if he wielded the bow of Ulysses he was plainly unable to bend it; and after a brief period of intrigue and faction and anarchy, the exiled Charles II., by the voice of the whole nation, was called to his father's throne.

The Cromwellian settlers in Ireland carefully watched these changing scenes. Both Lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote had given material aid to Cromwell, and more than any others had helped to crush the Irish Royalists. They had been richly rewarded. Broghill was Lord President of Munster and Coote Lord President of Connaught, and both had got enormous quantities of confiscated lands. It was personal interest, rather than conviction, that animated them; they were ready to be Royalists or Republicans according as it paid; and hastened to desert the Protectorate as soon as it became evident that its days were numbered. Their intentions were early divined, and both were dismissed from the offices they held; the same punishment was meted out to 200 military officers who were supposed to share their views. This treatment rather strengthened than weakened the party of Broghill and Coote. They were soon strong enough to form a conspiracy to overthrow the Government at Dublin; and in the last days of 1659, they carried out their plans and seized upon the Castle. It was soon recaptured by Sir Hardress Waller, who, with Ludlow and some others, would be no party to the overthrow of a Republican Government, but he in turn was besieged in the Castle, and after five days was compelled to surrender. Limerick, Galway, Clonmel, Youghal, Ross and the other garrison towns followed the lead of Dublin; and a Council of Officers was formed, and took over the Government. A Convention of Estates was then summoned, and met in Dublin, in February. Its members only waited for the signal from England to recall the King. Already Coote had sent his agent to Brussels to assure Ormond of his support; Broghill had acted similarly; an army of 60 companies of foot and 42 troops of horse was raised for the King's service; in May the King was

proclaimed with great acclamation in Dublin, and the Convention voted him a gift of £20,000, giving at the same time, £4,000 to the Duke of York and £2,000 to the Duke of Gloucester. Lord Broghill and Coote and some others were appointed by the Convention as Commissioners to make known the nation's desires to the King ; and the Convention, having done so much, adjourned till the following November.[3]

The object of Broghill and Coote was clear. They wanted to stand well with the King, to prejudice him in their favour, to get security for themselves and the other Cromwellian settlers in their estates. In his Declaration from Breda, issued before starting for England, Charles had announced that he would leave the settlement of estates to the English Parliament ; [4] and it was important that that body should be favourably disposed, as, indeed, it already was, towards the Protestant settlers in Ireland. It was considered important also that a prejudice should be created against the dispossessed Catholics. Some of them, though found by Cromwell's courts quite innocent of any share in the rebellion, were yet driven from their estates into Connaught or Clare. Believing that the hour of retribution had struck when the King was restored, they proceeded in some cases to eject the settlers, and re-entered into possession of their former estates. Riots and bloodshed followed. The Convention in Dublin put the severest laws and ordinances in force against the whole Catholic body ; threw some into prison ; prohibited all from passing from one province to another, even on their ordinary business ; intercepted their letters ; forbade them to hold meetings, and thus made it impossible for them to appoint agents who might look after their interests. And the agents of the Convention meanwhile persuaded the English Parliament to represent to the King that the Irish Catholics had broken out into acts of force and violence ; had robbed and spoiled and murdered some of the Protestant planters, and forcibly driven them from their estates. In consequence, a Royal proclamation was issued, commanding that the settlers should be left in quiet possession of

[3] Carte's *Ormond*, Vol. II., pp. 203-4 ; Mahaffy's *Calendar of State Papers* (1625-60), pp. 696-7, 711-14, 719-20.
[4] Lingard, Vol. VIII., pp. 302-3.

the houses and lands they possessed in the beginning of the year 1660, and were not to be disturbed by "Irish rebels" until legally evicted by course of law, or until "his Majesty had by the advice of Parliament taken further order therein."[5]

The Episcopal Protestant church was then established both in England and Ireland, Bramhall became Primate, and the famous Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down;[6] the arrangement by which Cromwell had united the Irish and English Parliaments and fixed the number of Irish members at 30, was disowned and abolished, and a new Irish Parliament was to be summoned. Sir Charles Coote was made Earl of Mountrath and Broghill, Earl of Orrery, and Ormond, now raised to the dignity of duke, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.[7]

But before the new Viceroy took up office, three Lords Justices were appointed to take charge of the Irish Government—Lords Orrery and Mountrath and Sir Maurice Eustace—and the great question of the settlement of Ireland was taken in hand. It was a perplexing problem, full of dangers and difficulties, and especially disagreeable to a King such as Charles, who hated trouble, and loved ease and pleasure, and who must have felt that it was impossible to reconcile all the conflicting interests, and that after all his efforts were exhausted there would remain dissatisfaction and discontent. The adventurers held their lands by virtue of an Act of Parliament approved by his father, which, therefore, he must have felt binding on himself. The soldiers, it was true, had fought both his father and himself, and it may be assumed he did not love them; but they were a formidable body, with powerful friends in England; they still remembered the victories they had won, and could again draw the sword in defence of those fields which had been given them as the reward of their valour. Such a body of men was dangerous to provoke. It was easier for Charles to remember that these soldiers had welcomed him home, and had even organized themselves to fight his battles, if such a necessity should arise. There were, besides, the officers and soldiers who had fought on

[5] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 205-6.
[6] Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 605-8.
[7] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 209-17, 238.

the Royalist side previous to 1649, called the "49 men," and whose arrears of pay had never been discharged. There were Protestants who had never joined in the rebellion at all, and yet had been driven from their lands. There were innocent Catholics, whose only crime was their religion. There were Catholics who had been in rebellion, but had repented and accepted the peace of 1648. And there were some, like Ormond, whose services and sacrifices could not be forgotten.

Another class were the Ensignmen. They were Irish Catholics who had fought with the King abroad, and who, as his subjects and obeying his commands, invested him with an importance in the eyes of France and Spain, which otherwise he had not possessed. At Arras, in 1654, two Irish regiments aided the great Turenne to defeat Conde, and on that desperate day, near Dunkirk (in 1658), when the Spaniards were routed by the charge of the English Puritans, there were 2,000 Irish on the Spanish side under the Duke of York, Lord Muskerry and Colonel Grace.[8] After the capture of Bois-le-Duc, which they gallantly defended for the Duke of Lorraine, an Irish regiment, at the command of the Duke of York, took service in the army of France; and at the siege of Ligni, which soon followed, more than a hundred of them lost their lives.[9] When the Duke of York quitted the French for the Spanish service, the Irish soldiers in France followed his example; and on one occasion, at the solicitation of Ormond and Charles II., but to the disgrace of the Irish themselves, St. Gerlain, which they held for France, and were bound in honour to defend, they treacherously surrendered to Spain.[10] Charles II., after his restoration, declared that he remembered their loyalty with affection, that joyfully they had obeyed his orders, though to do so was often injurious to themselves, and that such conduct entitled them to his protection and favour.[11]

As a solution of the difficulties before the King, the Earl of Orrery proposed that the adventurers and soldiers should be allowed what lands they possessed on the 7th of May, 1659; that Ormond

[8] O'Connor's *Military History of the Irish Nation*, pp. 82-5.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71.
[10] *Ibid.*, p.p. 75-8.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

and three or four others of special merit should be fully restored to all their lands, and to some extent compensated for the losses they had sustained; and that the "'49 men," should get some yet unallotted lands in eight counties. Mountrath would exempt those fanatics and disaffected persons who had opposed the Restoration; and Sir Maurice Eustace would have the King reserve all Connaught for himself, to which neither adventurer nor soldier could establish any claim. The two former proposals completely ignored the Catholics. But the Catholics were allowed to send agents to London, and these demanded that the Irish should be first restored to their estates, and that those of them who had not left Ireland, should, for the space of five years, give one-third the product of their estates to compensate deserving and dispossessed settlers; those who had served abroad with the King should pay a like amount for two years. These and other proposals were debated and discussed by the King and his Council, and finally, in the last days of 1660, his Majesty issued his Declaration for the settlement of Ireland. Adventurers were confirmed in what they had acquired up to the 7th of May, 1659, soldiers were similarly confirmed, unless they held church lands, in which case these lands were to be given up, and the sodiers compensated or reprised by the grant of other lands. The "'49 men" and Protestants who had never rebelled, should at once have their claims allowed. As to the Catholics, if they had never been in rebellion, they were to be restored to their estates; if however their property was within corporate towns they were not to be restored but get lands in the neighbourhood. Those who had been in rebellion, but accepted and adhered to the peace of 1648, were to be restored, unless they had sued out lands in Connaught or Clare, and if they had, they should be satisfied with what they had got. The Ensignmen were also to be restored, but not till the dispossessed settlers were first reprised. Thirty-six of the nobility and gentry were—as Nominees—to be restored to their estates at once by special favour of the King. Those, on the contrary, who had any share in the robberies or murders committed in the early years of the rebellion were excluded from the King's Declaration; and so also were the Regicides—those who condemned the late King or

assisted at his execution; and those also who opposed the restoration of the present King.[12]

In carrying out this Declaration, a certain fixed order was established.

Innocents, whether Protestant or Catholic, who had not obtained lands in Connaught, were first to be restored; after these persons dispossessed to make way for such Innocents; and lastly the claims of the Ensignmen were to be satisfied. Thirty-six Commissioners were appointed to examine individual claims, and a Court of Claims was opened in Dublin in March, 1661. But every member of the Court was himself in possession of forfeited lands, and before such a tribunal the dispossessed Catholics had little hope of justice. As well bring a lamb before a jury of wolves. The Commissioners, besides, had no legal training. They sat when it suited them; and though the streets were filled with people of both sexes, clamouring to be heard, they did nothing; and months after the court was opened only one widow was restored. The conduct of the Commissioners must have been indeed reprehensible, when the King declared that their partiality and corruption had discredited his Declaration, and when, in consequence, their Commission had to be cancelled and their court closed (April, 1662), just a year after it had first opened its doors.[13]

The venue was again changed to London, before the King and his Council, and the work of debate and discussion was resumed. But the contest was an unequal one; the odds were too great against the Catholics, and it was easy to see on which side the victory would be. The Irish Parliament, which commenced its sittings in the preceding year, was elected by the adventurers and soldiers, who were still in possession of their lands, and who had exclusive possession of the towns and, therefore, had all the voting power. In the House of Commons there was but one Catholic representative. The members were planters themselves, and to watch over the planters' interests was to watch over their own. Nor were

[12] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 216-17; Mountmorris, *History of the Principal Transactions of the Irish Parliament from* 1634 *to* 1666, Vol. II., p. 90.

[13] Prendergast's *Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, pp. 16-17.

they neglectful. They appointed agents to proceed to London, amongst whom were such able men as Sir William Petty and Sir William Temple.[14] They spent more than £20,000 in bribing influential persons in England. They had friends on the Council where the Catholics had none; Clarendon was in their favour; so was Ormond, whom they attached to their interest still more by presenting him with an address of congratulation and by voting him a sum of £30,000.[15] They insisted that the Catholics were rebels and traitors; that they were plotting a new rebellion, and, affecting to believe this, but really to make an impression in London, they had priests arrested, mechanics banished from the towns, and the houses of the gentry searched for arms. The Irish Parliament and their agents flattered the King; and the very men who had put his father to death and driven himself beyond the sea, thanked God that by their aid he had been victorious over Popish rebels; and that it was necessity only and zeal for the King's service that had compelled them to confiscate these rebels' lands.[16] They reminded the King that it was they who first invited him home, yet with subtle flattery they made no demands; acknowledged that the King could do what he liked with them, and appealed rather to his mercy than to his justice. The Catholics, on the other hand, managed their case badly. They insisted that their services to the King should be remembered; told him he was bound in honour to abide by the peace of 1648, which provided for their restoration; and they called the Cromwellians rebels and traitors. These latter retorted that the Catholics were covered with the blood of those murdered in 1641; and they reminded the King that the chief agent of the Catholics in London was Sir N. Plunkett, who, in 1648, was sent by the Supreme Council of Kilkenny to Rome to offer Ireland to the Pope, or, failing him, to any other Catholic sovereign. Plunkett could not deny the charge, which, after all, ought to have been condoned by the peace of 1648. But Charles was angry, or pretended to be, and ordered that Plunkett should no longer be admitted to plead before the Council. His Majesty was one of those

[14] Mountmorris, Vol. II., p. 103.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 118.
[16] *Preamble to Act of Parliament*, 14–15 *Charles II.*

who wanted to proceed along the line of least resistance. He thought at first that there would be sufficient lands for all. Ormond knew better, and declared that if all included in the King's Declaration were to be satisfied, a new Ireland should be discovered. As time passed, the King found that Ormond's view was correct; all could not be satisfied; and as some must suffer it was the wish of the English Parliament and Council, and, therefore, more in accordance with his own interest, that it would be on the Catholics the loss should fall.[17] All further discussion was ended. Those who had fought against the King were to be left the estates of those who had fought by his side and shared the hardships and perils of his exile. The Bill of Settlement was drawn up and transmitted to the Irish Parliament, which speedily passed it into law; and five Commissioners were appointed to carry out its provisions, and set up a new Court of Claims in Dublin, before which those who claimed to be innocent were to appear.

Under this Act the position of the Catholics was even worse than it had been under the King's Declaration; and the debates in London and the advocacy of Plunkett had done harm instead of good. Those who had abided by the peace of 1648, the "Article men," as they were called, were finally disowned; and whoever took land in Connaught could look for nothing more. If he had not gone to Connaught, the Cromwellians would have hanged him; if he went there and did not get lands he would have starved; and now he was deemed guilty for having taken the lands, or at least treated as if he were.[18] It was evidently the intention of the Act to favour the Protestants and make it difficult for a Catholic to get a favourable verdict, and, therefore, the bars to innocence in his case were many. Whoever joined the rebellion before the cessation of 1643; whoever, throughout the whole rebellion, had his residence in the rebels' quarters; whoever joined the Confederacy before the peace of 1648; or sat in the Confederate Assembly, or in the Supreme Council, or derived powers from either body, or belonged to the Nuncio's

[17] Carte, Vol. II., pp. 239-46; Lingard, Vol. IX., pp. 29-31.
[18] Prendergast, p. 24.

party, or inherited property from those guilty of such crimes—all these were declared guilty.[19] And this law was to be administered by five commissioners, English and Protestant, filled as they must have been with the prejudices against the Catholics, which, by the English Protestants of that day, were everywhere entertained.[20] It seemed no more difficult for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a Catholic to pass through this Court and emerge from it with the stamp of innocence. And yet, with few exceptions, those Catholics who did come before the Court of Claims obtained the verdict which they sought. At the first sessions, out of 45 cases tried, 38 were declared innocent, at the second 53 innocent and 7 nocent, and throughout the whole period during which the Court sat this proportion was maintained.[21] It may have been that some were found innocent who in reality were guilty. Clarendon says that there were such forgeries and perjuries as were never heard of among Christians, but he adds that the English perjured themselves as often and as deeply as did the Irish, and Sir William Petty declared that of those decreed innocent not one in twenty was really so. But his own hands were far from clean. He had got vast tracts of land by very questionable means, and while condemning the Irish for their reckless swearing he was not ashamed to avow that he had witnesses himself who were prepared to swear through a three inch-board.[22]

When Ormond came to Ireland, in the Summer of 1662, he found discontent everywhere, and the discontent was increased by the passage into law and administration of the Act of Settlement. The Catholics complained of the harsh treatment they had received, in not having their agent get a hearing in London and in not having any representation among the five Commissioners. The "'49 men" had not yet got their claims satisfied out of the lands for reprisals; and these lands, already small enough, were still further reduced by enormous grants made by the King to the Dukes of York and

[19] Lecky's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 109-10; Carte, Vol. II., pp. 220-1.

[20] Carte, II., p. 261.

[21] Leland's *History of Ireland*, III., p. 430; Cox, p. 6. (*Reign of Charles II.*)

[22] Lecky, p. 114; Carte, Vol. II., p. 393.

Ormond and Albemarle, and other noblemen.[23] The Presbyterians, who hated Episcopacy, murmured at the establishment of an Episcopal Church.[24] The sectaries in the army would have preferred a republican to a monarchical form of government, and were ready to revolt. But, most of all, the planters complained of the conduct of the Court of Claims. Where, they asked, was the land to reprise the dispossessed planters? and if the Court continued to declare Papists innocent in the same proportion as they had already done, the whole of the planters would be sent adrift and the Cromwellian Settlement would be undone.[25]

The Irish Parliament wanted stricter rules to be put in force in the Court of Claims; they wanted that every idle tale, every lying story, which bigotry or malice or self-interest could invent against the Catholics, should be accepted as evidence. They spoke of defending their lands with their swords; and they ended by accusing the five Commissioners of high treason.[26] Ormond rebuked their heated language, and the King was angry, but it was in vain. The Parliament, indeed, moderated its rage; but the army was not so easily appeased, and a formidable conspiracy was organised (1663), extending through Munster, Ulster and Leinster. Timely information, however, was given to Ormond; the leaders in Ulster fled to Scotland; and those in Munster and Leinster, who were preparing to seize the castle of Dublin, were themselves taken and put to death.[27] It was necessary to have the vexed question of the land settled. Ormond went to London and brought the matter before the English Council, and after much debate an agreement was arrived at, and a new Act, the Act of Explanation, was prepared and passed in the Irish Parliament (1665). To augment the fund for reprisals, the planters were to surrender one-third of the lands they held in May, 1659; the purchasers of lands in Connaught one-third of what they held in May, 1663; and from this fund the claims of the "'49 men"

[23] Lingard, Vol. IX., p. 30
[24] Carte, p. 260.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 262.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 264 312.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 267-70.

and the innocent Catholics were to be met; and in addition twenty more Catholic nominees were to be added to the 36 already named, and were to get their mansions and 2,000 acres of land.[28] But the Court of Claims, as constituted under the Act of Settlement, was closed. It had commenced in sittings in January, 1663, and was closed in the following August. It had declared 600 Catholics innocent, but there were more than 3,000 still unheard, and these, by the Act of Explanation, were refused even a hearing. "They were condemned," says Leland, "without the justice granted to the vilest criminals, that of a fair and equal trial."[29] The court which was opened under the Act of Explanation in January, 1666, was also composed of five Commissioners, and did not finish its work for years; but it was a Court for English and Protestants, and the Act declared that if a question arose between a Catholic and a Protestant it was to the latter that favour was to be shown.[30]

The fate of those Catholics whose cases remained untried was especially cruel. Many of them were noblemen, many of old descent and of English blood, who but ten years before had possessed broad acres and lordly castles, with the distinction and influence that came from wealth and ancient lineage. When the Court of Claims opened its doors they flocked to Dublin, claiming to be heard. Some of them had spent six years in wretched hovels in Connaught. Some had been in exile, like their King, and lived in the garrets and cellars of continental cities; and here and there in the throng might be seen one who had earned distinction on foreign fields. His patched buff coat denoted his poverty, but his jack boots and military deportment indicated the soldier; at his side was a Bilbao blade, and from his lips came the language of Castile.[31] Ladies waited and watched and prayed to be heard; their families in the country were in poverty and starvation, they themselves in the city were soon reduced to a similar condition; mothers wept over their little ones; widows and orphans, poor, forlorn, desolate and dejected, waited patiently for their turn. As the days passed, their spirits

[28] Carte, pp. 303-4.
[29] Leland, p. 440.
[30] Prendergast, pp. 34-5; Carte, pp. 303-4.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

drooped, their hopes faded, and finally hope gave way to despair.[32] The Cromwellians only laughed at their sufferings, and in some cases a planter refused to allow back one with a certificate of innocence, in other cases the personal intervention of the King himself was unavailing.[33] Ormond said that the time for hearing these cases must be extended, no matter who complained, and Orrery piously exclaimed "God forbid that any should fail to get a hearing." But neither Ormond nor Orrery was sincere; and both were directly concerned in promoting and passing the Act of Explanation, which shut the doors of the Court of Claims against those who wished to be heard.

Of the Ensignmen some went to Ireland and were heard; others feared to go, lest they might on some pretext be deprived of their arms and thrown into prison. They besieged the doors of the Council Chamber at Whitehall, hoping that their services would be remembered, and that they would be restored to their old homes. Some ran into debt for food and clothes, some were thrown into prison for debt, others were starving and pawned their arms and their clothes. But when the Act of Explanation was passed, further waiting and hoping was useless, and not one of them ever got as much land in Ireland as would serve them for a grave.[34] The more ambitious and adventurous went back to the Continent and again took service in foreign armies. Of the others, many must have died in London, of want and hunger and disease, bowed down and finally crushed with that hope deferred which makes the heart grow sick. A remnant went to Ireland and swelled the number of the disappointed, and begging their bread from door to door, so ended their days.[35] Typical of many others must have been the case of Lord Castleconnell, who appealed to the Duke of Ormond for relief, and candidly told him he could not appear before him for want of clothes; and Lady Dunboyne was glad to get from the Duchess of Ormond, and purely as charity, a small farm on the slopes of Slievenamon. Before the rebellion of 1641, the Catholics,

[32] Prendergast, pp. 34-6.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 48, 35.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 42-50.

at the lowest estimate, possessed more than two-thirds of the good land of Ireland; after the Act of Explanation, the figures were reversed, and the Protestants had at least two-thirds, while the estimate is put by many as high as four-fifths—a sweeping confiscation of property, especially when it is remembered that those whose lands were taken from them were denied even the justice of a trial. [36]

In planting his native land with English Protestants Ormond was kept busy during these years, but in other directions also his energy was shown. In his first year of office he abolished the Court of Wards, and to make up for the revenue thereby lost he had a tax imposed on hearths and chimneys. [37] He put down another Puritan revolt, captured Carrickfergus, and executed some of the malcontents, and, dreading a French invasion, he put the army on a war footing and strengthened the sea ports in Munster. [38]

He encouraged and materially aided the linen manufactures. He opposed the English Parliament when, in the interests of English agriculture, they prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England. He convinced the King it was an injustice to Ireland; but the King was powerless, and the first act was followed by another (1651), prohibiting the importation of cattle, sheep and pigs, either alive or dead. [39] Left to himself, he would have troubled little with the Ulster Presbyterians; but the Irish Parliament or the Bishops were not disposed to be tolerant. Jeremy Taylor, the Bishop of Down, was especially severe, and a law was passed, in 1665, which required the revised English liturgy to be used, and insisted that every minister not ordained according to the form of Episcopal ordination was incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice, and every Nonconformist minister who celebrated the Lord's Supper was liable to a fine of £100. Wherever they had power, the Presbyterians were not tolerant of any other religion, but at least they were sincere in the profession of their own religion

[36] Lecky, p. 115; King's *State of the Protestants*, p. 182.
[37] Carte, p. 250.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 326-9.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 317-22, 343; Hely Hutchinson's *Commercial Restraints*, p. 55.

and clung to it, and, in consequence, they suffered much throughout Ulster. Preaching was stopped, conventicles were closed, and ministers were fined and imprisoned. [40]

The Catholics suffered less, and in hope of greater favour being shown them, an old friend of Ormond, Father Peter Walsh, who had formerly opposed the Nuncio, now proposed that a declaration of loyalty be drawn up by the Irish Catholics. It was called the Remonstrance, and those who signed it, in protesting their loyalty to the King, renounced all foreign power, Papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, that would pretend to free them from their obligation of loyalty or that would licence them to bear arms against his Majesty. Walsh drew a clear distinction between the King's temporal and spiritual power, and vehemently denied that to subscribe to the Remonstrance was the same as to take the Oath of Supremacy; and he hoped that if the clergy could be brought together to hear his explanations, they would be induced to adopt his views. With the permission of Ormond such a meeting was held at Dublin, in 1666; but the opposition to the Remonstance was overwhelming. Long before this the Inter-Nuncio wrote against it; the Augustinians and Jesuits were against it to a man; the Louvain faculty had declared that it contained things "repugnant to the sincere profession of the Catholic religion;" and in a country where there were several Bishops and 1,850 priests, Walsh could get only one Bishop and 68 priests to agree with him. The assembly at Dublin was dissolved after a short time, but not until much wrangling was indulged in and much heat and passion had been shown. [41] This was just what Ormond wanted, for it was not for the good of the Catholics he allowed them to meet. It was, as he candidly confessed, to work divisions among them, to the great security of the Protestants and the Government, and to lessen the power of the Pope and his Nuncios. [42]

But while he was thus plotting the ruin of the Catholics, others were plotting his own. The Duke of Buckingham was in high

[40] Latimer's *History of the Irish Presbyterians*, pp. 140-3.
[41] Walsh, *History of the Remonstrance*, pp. 7, 9, 15-17, 24-5, 120-1, 637-742; Carte, p. 511; Leland, p. 460.
[42] Carte, Appendix—*Letter to the Earl of Arran.*

favour with the King, and was Ormond's bitterest enemy, and he made many charges against him in the English Parliament. It is not likely that the King believed these charges; but His Majesty was disposed to be more tolerant to the Catholics; and, with Ormond in Ireland, this could not be done. Partly, perhaps, on this account and partly, it may be, through the arguments and entreaties of Buckingham, the Duke was summoned to London and was soon after dismissed from office. [43]

Lord Roberts was appointed his successor, but his term of office was short and uneventful, and in the following year (1670) Lord Berkley was appointed. His instructions were to promote the interests of the Established Church and reform abuses within its pale; to support Walsh and the Remonstrants; to execute the laws against the Catholic hierarchy who had lately exercised jurisdiction.[44] It may be that these instructions were not meant to be acted on, or that Berkley received another and different set of secret instructions. Nor is this unlikely. The King's brother, the Duke of York, was a Catholic, and had enormous influence at Court; the King himself was in secret league with the Catholic King of France, and was secretly inclined towards Catholicism; and the Duke of York's greatest friend was Colonel Talbot, a Catholic himself, a member of an old Irish Catholic family, and brother of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Lord Berkley was an old friend of the Duke of York and had served with him abroad; [45] and as he owed his Irish appointment to him, he was not likely to run counter to his views. Nor did he. Instead of prosecuting the Catholics, he allowed them to inhabit and trade in towns; he endeavoured to introduce some of them into the Dublin Corporation; he appointed others to the Commission of the Peace; and he allowed the Catholic Bishops to perform their duties openly. In the eyes of English Protestants and Irish planters, all this was bad; but, worse still, it was sought to tamper with the Act of Settlement. This was owing to Colonel Talbot, who induced the English Council to appoint a Commission to revise the whole settlement that had been made. The Duke of

[43] Carte, pp. 375-6.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 413; Cox, pp. 9-11; *Copy of Instructions.*
[45] *Memoirs of James II.*

Ormond was highly incensed at this turn of affairs, When he gave up office, he said, there were only two Catholic Bishops in Ireland, and these were bedridden; but now every province had its Catholic Bishop, the loyal were oppressed and the disloyal were in power.[46] The settlement of Ireland he viewed with complacency; it was a good work and it was largely his own, and in the English Council and elsewhere he protested against its being endangered or attacked. The discontent and unrest among the planters in Ireland gave point and force to his arguments. This discontent soon found expression in the English Parliament. The House of Commons demanded of the King in menacing tones (1673), that no Catholic should be admitted to the army nor to the bench, nor be allowed to inhabit in towns, still less be members of a corporation or mayors; that all Catholic schools and colleges and convents be suppressed; that all Bishops, especially the Archbishop of Dublin, be compelled to quit the kingdom; and that his brother be dismissed from all office, civil or military, and forbidden access to the Court.[47] Powerless to oppose, the King felt compelled to yield. The Catholics admitted to the Dublin Corporation were disallowed; there were to be no more Catholic Magistrates, and no more favour shown to Bishops; the settlement of Ireland was to stand; the Commission to review it was withdrawn; Protestant ascendancy was to be maintained; and visions of eviction and poverty no longer disturbed the planters' dreams.

Lord Berkley had been recalled in the previous year. His successor was the Earl of Essex, a strong Protestant, but no persecutor of the Catholics. His position was difficult, and his troubles and trials were many. Authorised by the King to allow Catholics to live in Corporate towns and to dispense them from the Oath of Supremacy, he proceeded to carry out these orders, but was met with such clamour and opposition that he was compelled to desist and to refuse dispensing some members of the Dublin Corporation. Dr. Loftus, a Master in Chancery, declared that he could not dispense without an Act of Parliament; Lord Orrery publicly protested against the indulgence shown to the Catholics;

[46] Carte, p. 418.
[47] *Ibid.*, 438-9.

and the mayor of Galway refused to allow them to vote for members of the Corporation, saying it was the duty of all to join against them as the common enemy. As additional worry for Essex, there was counterfeit coin in circulation; there was great trouble with the revenue; and a Puritan officer, Walcot, endeavoured to stir up a revolt against "Popery and Prelacy." Heavy domestic affliction increased the Viceroy's trials. His wife was sick with fever (Oct., 1672), his daughter died in the following February, and his own health was so bad that, more than once, his life was in danger. A country torn by faction, in which the din of party warfare never ceased, was hard to govern. It was difficult to steer the ship of State over such an angry sea, and after nearly five years of worry and trouble and perplexing difficulties, he was glad to surrender the helm.[48]

To the disgust of many, and the suprise of all, Ormond was again appointed Lord Lieutenant, and in 1677 arrived in Dublin and entered on his last term of office. As on a former occasion, his government, indeed the whole reign of Charles II., was much disturbed by Tories. The victories of Cromwell had sent thousands of the most energetic of the nation to foreign lands. The Restoration had brought many of them back, but the Act of Explanation had sent them again adrift; and those who did not go abroad remained at home to prey upon the planters and to disturb the public peace. Some of the dispossessed begged from door to door, and with the tattered title-deeds of their former estates in their pockets, excited the sympathy of their fellow-countrymen, and obtained that relief which the Irish have never been slow to give. Others, more daring than these, swelled the ranks of the Tories, sometimes got assistance from their former tenants or from relatives who had saved a remnant of their property, or, failing this, they levied black-mail on the planters, which, like the Black-rents of a former period, and for the same purpose, were regularly paid. In Mayo and Leitrim Colonel Costello, a dispossessed landowner, kept that district disturbed until, in 1667, he was killed; the dispossessed Costigans in the Queen's County defied all the efforts of Lord

[48] Essex's *Letters*. (*Camden Society Publications*), pp. 18, 23-4, 101; Daniel's *Calendar of State Papers—Domestic Series*, Vols. XIII. and XIV.

Mountrath; there was a party of 100 in the neighbourhood of Leighlin Bridge; and Tories kept in terror the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Cork and Kerry.[49]

But in Ulster their numbers were greatest. It was the province which had suffered most from the plantations, and, therefore, contained the greatest proportion of the dispossessed.[50] The most noted of its Tory leaders was Redmond O'Hanlon, whose exploits were talked of at every fireside and whose fame reached even to France. He dwelt chiefly in the Fews mountains; hid in woods and caves; and for ten years kept the counties of Armagh and Tyrone in subjection and fear; issued passes; exacted vengeance when his friends were molested; and it was woe to those who endeavoured to betray him. At last (in 1681) he met his doom. The plans were laid by Ormond, in conjunction with Redmond's cousin, Art O'Hanlon, a Tory himself; and for the sum of £100 Art shot his kinsman dead, while he lay asleep and unsuspecting in an empty cabin. The outlaw's death was regretted by the people, who regarded him as the avenger of their wrongs. His memory is still fresh in Ulster; every cave is pointed out as Redmond O'Hanlon's parlour, or his stable, or his bed; and in a small ancient graveyard in Tanderagee, the peasants point out among the green mounds Redmond O'Hanlon's grave.[51] The first Earl of Orrery had once declared that, when he considered the memory of wrong which the Irish so tenaciously cherished, he feared that Ireland would be always disturbed; and it seemed as if his prophecy would come true, for long after Ormond's last term of office, the Tories disturbed the public peace and were a menace to the planters in their midst.[52]

Ormond loved the Catholics as little as he loved the Tories, and declared (1680), that he would rather be rid of Popish priests than of the gout.[53] But he was a courtier, and he knew the feelings of Charles II. and the religion of the Duke of York, and, whatever his own desires were, he desisted from any fresh persecu-

[49] Prendergast, pp. 68, 73-4, 84-90, 95.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-25.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[53] Cox, p. 16.

tions. But his hands were forced. There seemed to be a morbid dread in England that Protestantism was in danger. The King's wife and mother were Catholics, and so also was his brother, the next heir to the throne. It was thought that the religion of the State might be subverted and that of the hated Papists might take its place; and to prevent this happening a strong party was formed in Parliament. After the year 1673, their leader was the Earl of Shaftesbury. He was long the favourite of the King, and supported all his arbitrary measures, but he fell into disfavour and thenceforth became the bitterest enemy of the King, but still more of the Catholics, and especially of the Duke of York. Able, energetic, astute, without scruple, or shame, or sense of justice, and moved only by rage and disappointed ambition, he sought to inflame the public mind, both in Parliament and outside, so as to humiliate and degrade the Duke, and exclude him from the throne; and he sought to inflict fresh and crueller sufferings on the already afflicted Catholics. And to accomplish his ends, he stopped at nothing and rejected no assistance, however base.[54] By the Test Act (1673) which rendered Catholics incapable of holding civil or military office, the Duke of York was deprived of his position of Lord High Admiral, and in the next year his daughter Mary was taken from him to be brought up a Protestant. It was sought to exclude him from the succession by Act of Parliament; the King had to remove him from the Privy Council; he was even compelled to leave England, and resided for a time abroad. And to justify these proceedings a lying tale was concocted by two men of the worst character—Oates and Bedloe—who declared that the King was to be murdered and the Duke of York to succeed him; that Catholicism was to be established and all civil and military offices filled by persons of that creed; and that already the Pope had nominated Peter Talbot to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland and his brother Dick to be Commander-in-Chief. That a nation with a strong sense of justice and fair play should believe such stories from men of ill-repute, is indeed remarkable, but nevertheless it is true. These stories were greedily swallowed and apparently believed; the popular reason seemed to be dethroned, and to have given place

[54] Clarke's *Life of James II.*, Vol. I., pp. 488-9, 688-9.

to madness, and the Catholics were pursued with fury. They were hooted, hissed, insulted, mobbed; the prisons were filled with them; every idle tale was believed; the grossest perjury was admitted and acted on in the courts of justice; and after trials which, in every sense, were a disgrace to England, large numbers were sent to the scaffold. [55]

Nor was Ireland forgotten. Ormond issued orders (1678), that all priests should quit the country and all convents and churches should be closed. Catholics were turned out of Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel and Drogheda, and rewards were offered for information in the case of officers and soldiers who went to Mass. Special instructions were sent from England to have Colonel Talbot and his brother Peter arrested, as being guilty of conspiracy, and so also, it was said, were Lord Mountgarret and Colonel Peppard. But Ormond found that there was no such man as Colonel Peppard, and Mountgarret was old and bedridden and unable to be removed. Against Colonel Talbot there was no evidence, and he was set free, but his brother Peter, for no reason except that he was a Bishop, was detained, and being already in poor health, soon died from the hardships of his imprisonment. [56]

Fanaticism was still unappeased, and, in the last days of 1679, Oliver Plunkett, the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was arrested and lodged a prisoner in Dublin Castle. His stainless character, his blameless life, his zeal for religion, his efforts to promote virtue and correct abuses were well known. He had been the friend of two successive Viceroys, Lords Berkley and Essex; [57] even Ormond esteemed him and never believed him guilty of any crime; he belonged to the old English; and was nearly related to Lords Louth and Dunsany, Roscommon and Fingal. He had these noblemen's attachment to England and to the reigning King. That he had preached and taught his people; that he had laboured for their spiritual good in want and hunger, and poverty and cold, in the woods and on the hills; that he had

[55] Lingard, Vol. IX., pp. 181-5.
[56] Carte, pp. 478-80.
[57] "He was one of the best men of his persuasion I have met with." Essex's *Letters*, p. 126.)

held synods and had salutary decrees enacted; that he had inculcated temperance, and punished priests who were faithless to their calling—all this was true. But in no other respect was he guilty; and in such esteem was he held, that to the schools he set up many of the Protestants sent their children. Innocence, however, furnished him with no shield against injustice, and three of the clergy whom he had punished for their loose and disordered lives were found ready to accuse him. They swore he had agents abroad; that he had visited all the ports and forts of the kingdom; that he had invited over the French to dethrone the King and set up Catholicity; and that he had organised an army at home of 70,000. These charges were too grotesque to be believed, and before an exclusively Protestant jury at Dundalk (in July, 1680) no credence was given to the witnesses, who were known to be drunkards and even Tories; indeed it was felt that it was they and not Plunkett who should be in the dock.[58] Shaftesbury and his party, however, were determined to have blood, and Plunkett was brought to London, and tried before a court of partisan judges, in the Summer of 1681. Time was not given for his witnesses to arrive from Ireland; the perjuries of the witnesses discredited at Dundalk were accepted as facts; the accused was condemned, and on the 11th of July he was executed at Tyburn.[59]

In a long series of judicial murders this was the worst, and happily it was also the last. The full tide began to ebb, the storm to moderate its fury; the English people recovered the reason they had lost and turned their anger against Shaftesbury and his accomplices, all of whom ended badly, and some of whom died on the scaffold. In Ireland there was a corresponding calm. Ormond, indeed, was still the same. He left the Catholics unmolested, but his distrust of them remained. It was well known by the King and the Duke of York that he would be unwilling to confer on them any large measure of liberty, that contemptuous toleration of them was all that could be expected from him; and Charles, wishing, apparently, to go further than this, and desiring a more pliant instrument to

[58] Moran's *Life of Oliver Plunket*, pp. 297-306.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 333.

carry out his views, dismissed him from office, in the last days of 1684, and appointed the Earl of Rochester in his place. In his letters to the King and the Duke the old courtier gracefully submitted and even gratefully recalled the favours of the past; but secretly he was chagrined; wondered whether it was his age, his sloth, or his aversion to the Catholics that formed the grounds of his dismissal; lamented that his past services were so easily forgotten; and bade his son remember that Kings have no better memories than other men. Within little more than a month, and before Rochester had yet come to Ireland, or Ormond quitted it, the King died, and the Duke of York ascended the throne, and with his accession momentous events were at hand.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Reign of James II.

In the reign of Charles II. his brother James filled the office of Lord High Admiral, and in the naval battles against the Dutch he greatly distinguished himself.[1] For years Charles had been a Catholic at heart, though only on his death-bed did he avow it; but James boldly proclaimed his Catholicity, and for many years suffered much in consequence; and had Charles died some years earlier, it is certain that his brother would, on account of his religion, have been excluded from the throne. But in 1685 Shaftesbury's party was discredited, and in a Protestant country, fiercely and aggressively Protestant, no opposition was given to the accession of a Catholic monarch.[2] Such opposition would have brought on civil war; there were many who remembered the civil war between the Parliament and the King; and they did not want the horrors of that time repeated. And yet, if the accession of James implied that England should become Catholic and be ruled by a long line of Catholic sovereigns, the evils named, and even greater, the English were ready to face. For the nation was strongly Protestant, and as yet was reluctant even to tolerate any form of religion except Protestantism. But the established religion seemed in little danger from James. His second wife was childless, and the hope of having an heir to the throne was

[1] Pepy's and Evelyn's *Diaries*; Clarke's *James II.*, Vol. I., pp. 407-13.

[2] Burnet's *History of his own Time*, Vol. II., pp. 240-1.

already abandoned. His children by a former marriage were Protestants, and after his death the next sovereign would be a Protestant. To still further allay the apprehensions of the people, James declared at his first Council that he would govern according to the laws of England, and, knowing the Church of England to be loyal, he would support and defend it.[3] This declaration was welcomed with gratitude. The Protestants felt they had nothing to fear from the new king, who was not a man to conceal his opinions or break his word;[4] and when the Duke of Monmouth landed in England as the organizer of a Protestant revolt, the more sober and thoughtful held aloof from him, and among these his death excited no compassion. The number of addresses which were presented to James at his coronation were not, indeed, so many testimonials to his popularity, for he was not popular; they were expressions of loyalty to his office, and showed that from the most influential and representative bodies of men in the kingdom even a Catholic King had nothing to fear. His position was strengthened when a new Parliament was elected, with which he declared himself well satisfied.[5] Finally, the crushing of Monmouth's rebellion awed the turbulent and discontented, and made his position quite secure. If at this period of strength and success, he had tried to obtain some justice and liberty for his co-religionists, and had acted with caution, care, and patience, he could have done much. But he should keep the promises he made at his accession; he should interfere but little with Protestant privileges and not at all with Protestant rights; he should respect even the penal laws, though he might seek to have them repealed; and he might, in some cases of glaring injustice and striking personal merit, exercise his prerogative of mercy. Had he acted thus, there is little reason to doubt the justice of Macaulay's views, that in a short time a change would have been effected in public opinion, and the "sect so long detested by the nation would have been admitted to office and to Parliament."[6]

[3] Macaulay's *History of England* (Popular Edition), Vol. I., p. 216.
The Adventures of James II., p. 136.
Macaulay, pp. 233-5.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 333.

But James was not a man to hasten slowly, or march with measured tread: and though the Pope counselled him to be moderate and act within the constitution,[7] the advice was disregarded; and the over-zealous and imperious monarch, by outraging the convictions of his subjects, and breaking his promises, hurried forward rapidly to destruction. To have Mass said publicly at his palace offended the susceptibilities of a Protestant people to whom the Mass was an abomination; their murmurings grew louder when the King commanded the attendance at Mass of the great officers of State.[8] But he soon went beyond this. In spite of the Test Act he appointed Catholics commissioned officers in the army; he appointed others to high civil offices and to the Privy Council; he sent an accredited ambassador to the Pope, and had accredited to his own court a Papal Nuncio; he compelled the authorities at Cambridge University to admit Catholics to degrees; and at Oxford he appointed in one College a Catholic dean and in another a Catholic president.[9] He published a declaration of Indulgence suspending the penal statutes against Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, abrogated all religious tests as a qualification for office, and haughtily told the Parliament that he would contiue to do so, for he plainly considered himself above Parliament, and above the law. In corporations where his views were condemned he had the corporate charters withdrawn, and the alderman and officers dismissed; and throughout the various counties the same fate awaited recalcitrant sheriffs and returning officers.[10] He ordered his declaration of Indulgence to be read from all Protestant pulpits; and when seven of the bishops declared it to be illegal, and refused to read it, he had them brought before the King's Bench for seditious libel (1688). But the law as well as public opinion was on the bishop's side, and when they were acquitted all London rejoiced.[11]

[7] *Adventures of James II.*—Gasquet's *Introduction.*
[8] Macaulay, Vol. I, pp. 230-1.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 466-71.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 493; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 80-1; Somer's *Tracts*, Vol. II., pp. 106-7.
[11] Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 162-4; Burnet's *History of his own Times*, Vol. II., pp. 371-5.

At last the patience of the people was exhausted. The King had offended every class. The friends of Monmouth remembered how his followers had been hunted down; those who loved justice were disgusted at the sight of a drunken savage like Jeffreys raised to the position of Lord Chancellor; the corporate towns resented the withdrawal of their charters; the voters throughout the country the undue interference with Parliamentary elections. The bigots were annoyed at the toleration extended to Catholics, still more at the favour shown them. The treatment of the Universities and the prosecution of the bishops showed the Established Church how insincere were the King's promises. The Parliament felt that there was no place for it in the constitution, for of what use was it to enact laws if these laws could be dispensed with by an arbitrary monarch. But a short time had elapsed since Louis XIV. had revoked the Edict of Nantes and driven thousands of Protestants from France, whose only crime was their faith.[12] England was Protestant, but of late there were many conversions to Catholicity; some were from pious motives, no doubt, but many because they felt this to be the surest road to royal favour; and if this process of depletion went on might not England cease to be Protestant altogether. James did not approve of the severities of Louis XIV., but he was a strong Catholic; and the worst was that the reign of a Catholic king was not to end with his life, for his wife, in the Summer of 1688, gave birth to a son. In these circumstances the powerful elements of discontent in England coalesced; secret negotiations were opened with James's son-in-law, William of Orange, who was invited to England to defend the Protestant religion and the liberties of the people. In the end of 1688 he came with a large army; and James, deserted by his dearest friends, had not the courage to fight for his crown, and was soon a fugitive and an exile.[13]

These troubles in England had not their counterpart in Ireland, but Ireland was certainly not at rest. After the death of Charles, the Earl of Rochester became Lord Treasurer of England, and his brother, the Earl of Clarendon, became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

[12] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Vol. XIII., pp. 301–15, 337–42.
[13] Macaulay, Chapters 4–10.

and landed at Dublin in the following January. Among the colonists he found widespread unrest. In the hearts of these Cromwellian planters the fierce Puritan intolerance still burned. They looked with terror to the reign of a Catholic King. They knew they held their lands by no other tenure than spoliation, and though it was confirmed and legalised by Parliament, it was spoliation still. The despoiled proprietors or their children still lived; and, regarding the settlers as intruders and plunderers, wistfully gazed on their lost fields, and hoped, perhaps, that a Catholic king would right the wrong that had been done them. He might not be able to repeal the Act of Settlement, but he might try, and even in this there was danger, and so the Cromwellians were agitated and alarmed, not from what they suffered, but from what they feared.

Clarendon's instructions from the King were that the Act of Settlement was to be maintained, but some means should be devised for rewarding some of the natives who had rendered great service to the Crown, and yet were dispossessed of their estates; Catholics were to be free to practise their religion without hindrance and were to be appointed to all offices, equally with Protestants; and finally, some individuals in the army who professed dangerous principles, principles savouring of republicanism and subversive of monarchy, were to be removed from the positions they held.[14] With strong Protestant convictions, Clarendon was little disposed to be tolerant to the Irish Catholics. But his orders were imperative, and he was ready to carry them out, no matter how distasteful; for he was above all things a courtier, pliant, timid, submissive, careful to study the wishes and earn the applause of the imperious monarch.[15] Three Catholics were raised to the bench; others were made magistrates, sheriffs and privy councillors; and the revenues of two vacant Protestant sees were appropriated for distribution among the Catholic bishops.[16] Colonel Richard Talbot was given command of the army; and though his commission was given him by the Viceroy, in reality

[14] Lingard, Vol. x., pp. 117-18.
[15] *Clarendon Correspondence*, Vol. i., pp. 283, 321.
[16] Lingard, p. 118.

he was independent of him. He was a prime favourite of the king, to whom he was devotedly attached, and by whom he was now created Earl of Tyrconnell. He had seen the capture of Drogheda by Cromwell, when a boy. Since that day he hated the Puritans; and the treatment himself and his brother received in the reign of Charles II. had intensified that hate. But he was the champion and the darling of the Catholics; and now that he was invested with the control of the army he proceeded to reform it according to his own ideas; and on the pretence that officers favoured revolutionary principles large numbers were cashiered, and so also were large numbers of the rank and file. In this way, 300 officers and 6,000 soldiers were dismissed, the vacant places being filled by Catholics.[17] Such sweeping changes were doubly distasteful to Clarendon, because they had been carried out by Tyrconnell.[18] Indeed it was this last circumstance which irritated him most, for he was himself willing to dismiss Protestants and put Catholics in their places, but objected that Tyrconnell should have such power, and could exercise it without consulting himself.[19] Clarendon's humiliation went further in a short time. His brother Rochester was dismissed from office in England, and himself was deprived of the Viceroyalty; and such was the influence of Tyrconnell that he was appointed to the latter position.[20]

These changes filled the Irish Protestants with alarm. While Clarendon was in office they had some confidence that injustice would not be done them; but with Tyrconnell, a declared enemy, in power, they must have felt that their final ruin was near. The new Viceroy proceeded to justify their worst fears, and commenced to reform the civil government with the same thoroughness as he had already reformed the army. Once more Mass was publicly said throughout Ireland, and religious went abroad in their habits; a Catholic was for the first time appointed Provost of

[17] *Clarendon Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 494-5; Somers' *Tracts*, Vol. II., pp. 416-17; Burnet, Vol. II., pp. 304-5.

[18] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 291.

[19] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 276. "Methinks," he says, "the Lord Lieutenant should not be the last man who is to know these things."

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 134, 143-4.

Trinity College; Catholic magistrates and sheriffs were appointed; and of the few non-Catholics promoted to these positions the greater part were Quakers, who had hitherto experienced harsh treatment from the Protestants and Puritans, and who were naturally embittered by the recollection of what they had suffered. The Protestant Primate, Boyle, was dismissed from the Chancellorship, and the place given to Fitton, a convert from Protestantism.[21] Nagle, who had written anonymously "A Letter from Coventry," demanding the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and who was well known to be the author of the letter in question, was made Attorney-General; and of the nine judges who constituted the courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, and amongst whom in the last reign not a single Catholic was to be found, only three Protestants were left by Tyrconnell.[22] Before these courts the various corporations were accused of having violated the terms of their charters; and in the new charters given them a proviso was inserted that at least two-thirds of the freemen should be Catholics, a proviso insisted on even in Derry, where the majority of the inhabitants were Protestants.[23] Worse still was the attack on the Act of Settlement. It was well-known that Tyrconnell viewed it with disfavour and would repeal it if he could, and it was ominous that Nagle, who had assailed it, should be appointed to high office.[24] A little later two of the new Catholic judges—Rice and Nugent—were sent to London in the hope of inducing the King and the English Council to have the obnoxious Act repealed; but their reception was bad and their mission a failure. The London mob pursued them through the streets with insults, carrying long sticks, on the top of which potatoes were fastened; and they mockingly cried aloud to make way for the Irish ambassadors. Nor did the Irishmen convince the Council; though the King was at first disposed to be convinced, his views changed; and

[21] *Studies in Irish History and Biography*, pp. 145-7.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 195; *Clarendon Correspondence* Vol. I., p. 296. Clarendon did not object to them as Catholics, but because they were not English. *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 192-7.

[23] Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 96-8; King's *State of the Protestants*, pp. 100-4.

[24] King, pp. 184-5.

Nugent and Rice had to report in Ireland the failure of their mission, and the insults offered to their persons.[25]

What were the Irish Protestants to do? Compared to the Catholics they were few in number; but the greater part of the lands and wealth, and all the sources of influence and power in the country, had been in their hands, the Parliament, the Established Church, the University, the courts of justice, the magistracy, the corporations. They had filled every position, from the Viceroy to the messenger who carried his letters, from the Lord Chancellor to the crier in his court, from the judges to the sheriff's officers who executed his decrees. It was thus they had been able to hold their own, and even to assert a predominance. The tables were now turned, the positions reversed; the Catholics, so long shut out from the avenues of influence and wealth, were at last admitted to all. The Protestant had no longer the army exclusively of his own religion and sympathies; the Viceroy was not his friend but his enemy; and when a Protestant officer named Ashton murdered a Catholic gentlemen, he was promptly taken prisoner and accused in a court of justice, and being found guilty was hanged.[26] It does not appear that the Catholics as a body misused the power with which they were thus suddenly invested; but the instances are rare in which men will altogether forgive those who have oppressed them; and it is not reasonable to expect that some of the Catholics did not retaliate upon the Protestants some of the injuries they had received. Nor was this all. There was general unrest and insecurity; rumours that the Protestants were to be massacred; that the Catholics were to be the victims; business was dislocated, industry at a standstill; terror was everywhere; and, fearing that their lives as well as their properties would be sacrificed, large bodies of Protestants fled to England.[27]

As the King was distrustful of the English army, Tyrconnell sent to England, in the Summer of 1688, 3,000 Irish soldiers; and a rumour was circulated in London, and to some extent believed,

[25] Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 538-9.

[26] King, p. 69: *Clarendon Correspondence*, Vol. I., 396-7. King more than suggests that Ashton was done to death, but Clarendon believed him guilty.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

that these Irish were massacring the Protestants, and this roused the passions of the English to madness. With a similar object an anonymous letter was sent, dated 3rd December, 1688, to Lord Mount-Alexander of Ulster, warning him that the Irish Catholics had sworn to repeat the massacre of 1641, and that on the 9th of December following they were to fall upon the Protestants everywhere, the intention being to kill man, woman, and child, and spare none. Whoever killed a leading Protestant was to have a captain's commission. and, being a leader, Mount-Alexander was specially warned not to stir out either night or day without a guard. He was desired to give a similar warning to the leading Protestants within his reach.[28] This spark set the smouldering embers of Protestant discontent aflame, and everywhere they rushed to arms. Where there was a strong castle they flocked to it for shelter; and at Kenmare, Charleville, Mallow, Bandon, and Sligo, centres of resistance and rebellion were formed. But in Ulster the Protestants were strongest; and the Protestant Militia, who were supposed to have been disarmed by Tyrconnell, took care in most cases to retain their arms. Enniskillen closed its gates, after admitting the Protestants around, and expelled the Catholics. The place was then put in a state of defence; a little army of 200 foot and 150 horse was formed; swords and pikes being scarce, smiths were employed to fasten scythes on poles; and when Tyrconnell sent two companies of soldiers north to reduce the town and make it their headquarters, the Enniskillen men, without waiting to be attacked, sallied forth and defeated the Viceroy's troops.[29] A similar spirit of defiance was shown in Derry. The vast majority of the inhabitants were either Presbyterians or Protestants; the Catholics were few; and though the non-Catholics differed in many things, in hatred of Catholicity they were at one.

The place was garrisoned by Lord Mountjoy's regiment, and as Mountjoy himself and good part of his officers and men were Protestants, they did not excite the hostility of the citizens. But in the end of November the garrison was recalled to Dublin, and

[28] King, p. 414.
[29] Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 724.

a regiment lately formed by Lord Antrim was ordered from Coleraine to Derry. Antrim and his troops were Catholics; the fervid bigotry of the Derrymen took alarm; and when Antrim's force presented themselves at the city gates they were denied admission. The Protestant bishop and the more law-abiding among the people counselled moderation and loyalty; but the advice was spurned as that of cowardice; and Antrim's troops, after waiting at the gates for some time, were compelled to recross the Foyle and return to Coleraine. These events happened on the 7th of December, and the following day the Catholics were expelled from Derry. The magazines were then broken into; arms and amunition were taken out, a town guard was formed, and the Derry men sent one of their number, Mr. Cairns, to London to ask for aid.[30] At the same time they wrote to Dublin to Mountjoy, apologising for what they had done; threw all the blame on the young men of the city; and wanted Mountjoy to put their conduct in a favourable light before Tyrconnell.[31] Their real aim was to gain time until the expected succour came from England, and then they hoped to bid him defiance. If the Viceroy were to maintain even the semblance of a government these Derrymen must be reduced to obedience. But to use force might be inadvisible; it was thought better to try what conciliation, backed up by force, could do; and Mountjoy was again sent North with six companies of his regiment. After negotiation, two of the companies, all Protestants, were admitted into Derry; the remaining four companies, which included some Catholics, were quartered at Strabane, Newtownstewart, and Raphoe.[32] And the Derrymen insisted that the townsmen, who were already divided into eight companies, should be armed, and mount guard in turn, as well as the regular soldiers.[33] Early in January, Mountjoy was recalled to Dublin, but his troops remained, and his next in command, Colonel Lundy, became governor of the city.

[30] *Siege of Derry*—Mackenzie's *Narrative*, pp. 160-7, 256—(Letter dated 10th December.)
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 254.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[33] Walker's *Diary*.

JAMES II LANDING AT KINSALE, 1689

FROM A CONTEMPORARY DUTCH PRINT

For Tyrconnell the situation was perplexing. Before the new year dawned James II. had fled the kingdom for France, and William of Orange had entered London, and was proclaimed King in February. From the first the Irish Protestants were his ardent supporters, and the example of Enniskillen and Derry was widely followed throughout Ulster. The Presbyterian ministers sent him an address of welcome; the Protestant ministers hailed him as their champion; in the various counties associations were formed and forces raised to fight his battles. A central council was established at Hillsborough, where the commanders concerted their plans; and during January and February attempts were made to capture Belfast, Lisburn, Carrickfergus and Newry.[34] They protested they were only acting on the defensive; that they did not wish "to invade the lives, liberties, or estates" of any of their fellow-subjects, not even of the Catholics, as long as they demeaned themselves peaceably.[35] It was no doubt true that much of their property had been damaged by some of the Catholic levies, recently raised and little under control; but it was also true that what the Protestants wanted was the triumph of Protestantism; and that the fight was for privilege and domination rather than for equality. And William III. in his first proclamation, while he was ready to pardon all Irishmen who laid down their arms before the 10th of April, would not grant to the Catholics more than the private exercise of their religion.[36] Some Catholics, however, were ready to accept these terms, seeing, perhaps, the futility of further resistance; the troops sent to England for James did so, as did their general, Richard Hamilton. He even promised William, to his Majesty's great satisfaction, that he would go to Ireland and win over Tyrconnell.[37] From his subsequent conduct it does not appear that Hamilton was sincere in making this promise, nor is it likely he could have brought over Tyrconnell if he tried. With the triumph of James the Catholics expected the repeal of the Act of Settlement, the restoration of their churches

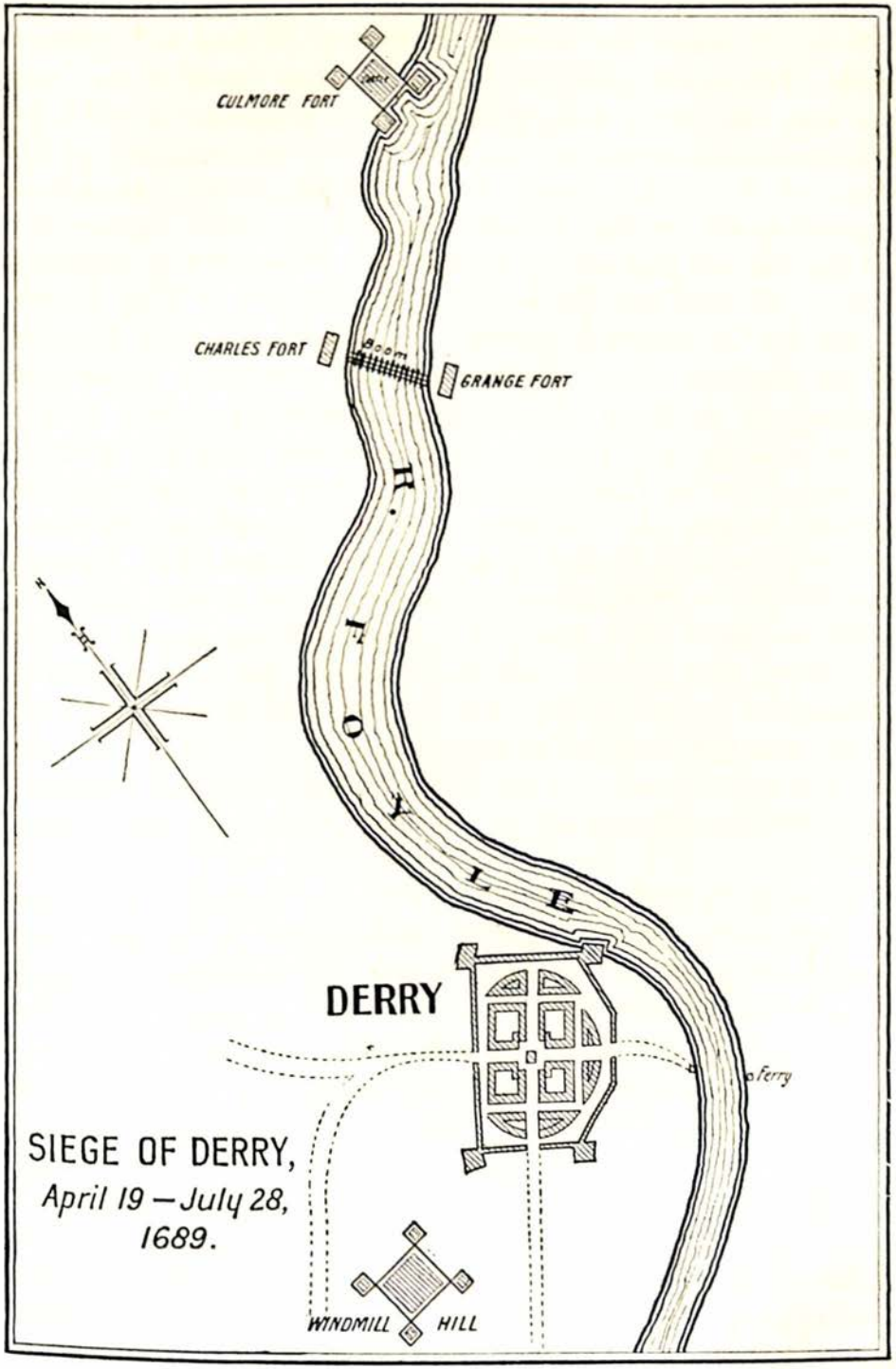
[34] Mackenzie, pp. 173-9.
[35] *Siege of Derry*, pp. 259-63.
[36] Hardy's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 6.
[37] Burnet, Vol. II., pp. 447-8.

and church lands, the opening to them of all civil and military offices: Tyrconnell indulged these hopes and shared them; and if he now deserted to King William, his co-religionists would have vehemently denounced him as a traitor to his faith and to his King. And so he stood firm by King James; Hamilton, forgetful of the promise he made to William, joined Tyrconnell; and the war was commenced between the Williamites, or followers of King William, and the Jacobites, or followers of King James.

Nor was the contest so uneven, if there had been a capable leader on the Jacobite side. William was not personally popular in England, in Scotland, the Highland's were in arms; France would certainly aid James, and France was then the greatest military power in Europe, and for the first time was equal to England on the sea. Outside of Ulster, Ireland was Jacobite, and Tyrconnel had enrolled an army of near 50,000 men. Courage they did not want; but they had no experience in war, and little skill in the use of arms. Except a few, who had seen foreign service, the officers were mostly country gentlemen; the inferior officers, artisans from the towns; the rank and file were peasants, perhaps Tories, who had some little experience in arms. They were the raw material of good soldiers, but it would take some time and care, and the teaching of experienced officers, to make them efficient.[38]

Tyrconnell's first care was for Ulster, and in March, Hamilton was sent north agianst the levies lately raised by the associated counties, whom he defeated at Dromore. By the end of the month all Down and Antrim were in the hands of the Jacobites. Of the enemy some got protection from Hamilton; others fled in terror to the seaports, and took shipping for England; a good number took refuge in Coleraine. Thither they were pursued, and Coleraine was abandoned, as was Dungannon and Omagh; and from all quarters the Protestants fled to Derry as to a city of refuge. In April, Hamilton with his army had reached the banks of the Finn. At Claudy Bridge and Lifford the passage was disputed, but the Williamites were driven back and fled to Derry, and two days later

[38] *Studies in Irish History*, p. 188—(Notes.)



[To face page 397.

the Catholic army was before the walls.[39] At their head was King James himself. He had arrived from France in March, bringing some French officers with him, and now hastened to Derry, thinking that he had but to show himself and this stubborn city would submit. And it would, if the advice of Lundy had been taken. In answer to repeated requests, two regiments had been sent from England to the relief of the city, and arrived in the Foyle on the 15th of April. The whole force was under the command of Colonel Cunningham, who was directed to obey the orders of Lundy, and the latter, calling together a council of officers, strongly advised that terms be made with King James. If Cunningham's two regiments were landed the provisions in the city would not last more than ten days; the city defences were weak, and could not hold out against a strong force. Negotiations were then opened with King James, but they were kept secret. Gradually, however, the secret leaked out. Some members of Lundy's military council were opposed to his views; Captain Murray, who had come in from Culmore, denounced them as the views of treachery and dishonour, and Murray was supported by the populace and by the rank and file of the army; and when King James appeared before the walls, expecting a favourable reception, the guns from one of the bastions were turned on him, and one of his officers was struck dead by his side. Finding his advice rejected and even his person in danger, Lundy escaped, disguised as a porter, and Colonel Cunningham, taking with him his two regiments and some officers who shared Lundy's views, sailed down the Foyle and returned to London. James also returned to Dublin, leaving a French officer, General Maumont, in supreme command of the besieging army, And thus began, on the 19th of April, a siege memorable in history.[40]

The ancient name of Londonderry was Derry Galgach, which signifies the oak wood of the fierce warrior. In Christian times, from its connexion with Columbkille, it was often called Derry-Columbkille; and until the English settled there under Dowcra, its importance had been mainly ecclesiastical. In the confiscations which followed the flight of the Earls and the rebellion of O'Doherty, Derry

[39] *Siege of Derry*, pp. 180-5, 107, 209.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11, 208.

and 7,000 acres adjoining was given to the Irish Society formed of London merchants; a charter was granted; the new owners surrounded it with a wall; and Derry, out of compliment to London, became known as Londonderry. But the old name still survives, and the city is given one name or the other according to caprice.[41] It successfully repelled the attack of Sir Phelim O'Neill in the rebellion of 1641, and in 1649 was held by Coote for the Parliament, after which date, until 1688, its history is uneventful. Built on the left bank of the Foyle, on the eastern side of a hill which slopes upward from the river, its situation was picturesque. On the south and west were small hills, on the east and north was the river, which at that point was 43 feet in depth and more than 1,000 feet broad. A little below the city it widened in its course, then narrowed somewhat, and about four miles below Londonderry it emptied its waters into Lough Foyle. There were then no buildings on the east bank, nor did any bridge span the river, and the only communication between both banks was by ferry. So placed, on such a noble river, capable of carrying on its bosom the largest vessels, in easy communication with the open sea, it was advantageously situated for trade and commerce. But its capacity to stand a siege was not great. The adjacent hills were fatally convenient for an enemy's guns; and if he obtained command of the river he could cut off communication with the sea. The form of the city was an ellipse, its direction lengthwise being from north-west to south-east; the surrounding wall, a mile in circumference, was of stone, and in places 20 feet high; it was 8 feet thick, and was entered by four gates, Bishop's Gate in the south, Butcher's Gate on the west, Ship's Gate on the north, and on the east was New Gate; there were eight bastions, on which were placed 20 pieces of cannon. Outside, on the south and close to the walls, the besieged held a strong fort on Windmill Hill.

In the preceding month Captain Hamilton had brought from England 480 barrels of powder, and arms for 10,000 men; within the city were 7,500 officers and soldiers, aided by numbers of volunterers, who did good service, and who swelled the number

[41] *Siege of Derry*, pp. 307-27.

of armed defenders to 10,000; according to a Williamite authority, who was in the city and ought to know, the number was 12,000.[42] Some of these were in the regular army, and were part of those sent from Dublin under Mountjoy; many others must have belonged to the Militia disbanded by Tyrconnell; all were non-Catholics, and, living in a province where religious and racial differences were strong, and where the habitual attitude was one of defiance, they had learned the use of arms, and had the confidence of a dominant caste. Since Lundy's escape, the forces were under eight colonels. The governor was Colonel Baker, a man of ability and resolution; Colonel Murray, equally resolute, had charge of the cavalry; while aiding Baker as assistant governor was the Rev. George Walker. When the city first closed its gates he was Rector of Donoghmore; thence he made his way to Dungannon, where he organised a revolt; and finally, he reached Derry. He was one of these militant parsons of the 17th century, the product rather of Puritanism than of Prelacy, energetic, zealous, intolerant, bigoted and brave. There were many other clergymen within the walls, Protestant and Presbyterian, and for once they agreed. The Protestant Cathedral was shared between them, its pulpit in turn occupied by them; day after day the fiercest invectives were poured forth against Popery; the duty of fighting was inculcated as a matter of religious obligation; the fiery zeal of the preacher was communicated to the congregation; and the soldier as he paced the walls or pointed the guns was confident that his work was the work of God.[43]

Yet were the difficulties considerable. The garrison was largely untrained; horses were few; there were no engineers; the guns were ill-mounted; provisions were scarce; and there was a constant stream of deserters to the enemy. A further difficulty was the number of non-combatants. In the beginning the whole population was 30,000; but during the siege 10,000 of these were allowed to leave, a foolish thing for the Jacobites to allow, as it prevented the earlier starving out of the besieged.[44]

[42] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 320-1.
[43] Mackenzie, pp. 222-4.
[44] Walker's *Diary*, p. 111-14.

If the Duke of Berwick is to be believed, the besieging army did not exceed 6,000;[45] the highest estimate is 20,000; and perhaps there were times during the siege, before disease had played such havoc with them, when this number was reached. Maumont was in supreme command, with Pusignan and Hamilton next. There were some mortars and cannons, but there were no heavy siege guns. The headquarters were fixed at St. Johnstown, five miles to the south, and in a few days a strong position was taken up at Pennyburn, to the north-west. On the 21st of April this position was assailed by the Williamites, but they were quickly driven in and hotly pursued by the enemy's cavalry, Colonel Murray narrowly escaping. The enemy pursued too far, and coming within range of the troops who lined the ditch, a murderous fire was opened on them, and Maumont and Pusignan, and 200 more were killed.[46] A week later another sally was made, though nothing decisive was done. But a more important action took place on the 6th of May. Under cover of darkness Brigadier-General Ramsey attacked the Windmill fort, drove in the outposts, seized the ditches and walls, and before morning dawned had a line of entrenchments from the river in the east to a bog west of the fort. To recapture this important post Baker and a strong force issued from the gates, on the morning of the 6th, and after a sharp, fierce struggle the Jacobites were driven from the positions they held. Ramsey and many officers were killed, and so were 200 of the rank and file; the victors also got some drums, colours, arms, and ammunition, and "good store of spades, shovels and pickaxes."[47] After this there was a lull. Both husbanded their resources, and during the whole month of May there was no more fighting, owing, says Walker, "to the enemy's want of courage and our want of horse."[48] But during the interval the besiegers crept nearer, and effectually surrounded the city. Their headquarters had been moved within two miles of the walls; the castle and fort of Culmore had been taken, and more forts erected there. Some

[45] Berwick's *Memoirs I.*, pp. 340-5.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 220, 281-2, also Story's *Map.*
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Diary*, p. 117.

mortars had been placed on the east side of the Foyle, and played with effect on the buildings in the city; near Culmore a boom had been thrown across the river, protected at each side by a strong fort; and the Frenchman who had designed it, wrote to his master, the King of France, assuring him that he intended to make another boom higher up the river, and then, what he desired was that the English would come, so that he should have the pleasure of defeating them.[49]

On the 4th of June, the Jacobites made a determined effort to capture the entrenchments on Windmill Hill. The whole line was simultaneously attacked, the grenadiers on the left, in the centre the infantry, on the right three squadrons of cavalry, all under Colonel Butler, son of Lord Mountgarrett. From across the river the guns opened fire and disconcerted the defenders. Butler, urging his horse, topped the entrenchment and was followed by 30 others; but their horses were shot under them, and Butler and some others were taken prisoners; the remainder were killed. The centre attack also failed. The grenadiers did better, and for a time possessed themselves of the works, and were like to become masters of the fort itself. The defenders fled, but quickly rallied; enthusiastic volunteers rushed to their assistance; even the women mingled in the combat, and hurled stones at the assailants. Such magnificent valour was irresistible, and the grenadiers, driven from the positions they had captured, were pursued across the open with great slaughter. In the whole attack the Jacobites had lost 400, either killed or wounded, and Butler and six officers were taken prisoners.[50] To attack defences so resolutely manned seemed hopeless; it was better wait for starvation to do its work; and from that date the siege became a blockade. From across the river the mortars threw their bombs into the city, and caused alarm and suffering, tore up the streets, demolished buildings, killed some while sitting at dinner and others in bed, until at last the people dreaded to walk the streets or sleep in their houses, and slept out under the shelter of the city walls. A ship coming to the relief of the besieged on the 7th of June was unable to pass

[49] Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 147-8.
[50] Walker's, Mackenzie's and Ashe's *Diaries*.

the fort at Culmore, and had to put back. On the 10th, General Kirke with 30 vessels reached Lough Foyle, with large stores of provisions, and a daring messenger brought the news to the city, bidding them be of good cheer. But the time wore on, and Kirke, fearing the guns at Culmore and the boom higher up, did not venture to leave Lough Foyle.

King James lost patience, and sent Marshal de Rosen, who had come with him from France, to take command. He arrived on the 24th of June; ordered up three mortar pieces to Windmill Hill, drew his lines within a few yards of Butcher's Gate, hoping to seize the outworks, or lay mines under the walls; and from his trenches a continuous fire was kept up. On the 27th, Hamilton offered the city terms: a free pardon, the free exercise of their religion, full possession of their goods, and compensation to those who had been robbed. De Rosen gave them until the 1st of July to accept. After that date, no further terms would be offered; he would reduce the place by force, and spare neither age nor sex; but before doing so he would drive all the Protestants for miles around to the city gates, to be admitted by their friends or to starve outside the walls.[51] The temptation to close with the offer was strong, for the distress was great. Disease was playing terrible havoc among soldiers and citizens; cannon balls being all spent, they had to use balls of brick covered with lead; provisions were nearly exhausted; even the soldiers who had to fight were living on horseflesh, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, and starch, and salted and dried hides. There seemed little hope of relief from Kirke, and to further dishearten them, Governor Baker died. Yet their resolution to hold out was unshaken; they bade de Rosen do his worst; and were resolved, says Walker, to eat the Irish and then one another rather than to surrender to anyone but King William.[52]

De Rosen retorted by gathering the Protestants from all quarters within a radius of several miles, and on the 2nd of July drove them, men, women, and children, to the walls. But the besieged, in sight of the Jacobites, set up a gallows, and sent out a messenger

[51] Mackenzie's *Diary*.
[52] King, pp. 488-91; Clarke, Vol. II., p. 367.

THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY

FROM A CONTEMPORARY DUTCH PRINT

to say that if the Protestants were not allowed to depart, all the prisoners in their hands would be executed. These persons appealed to Hamilton, and, perhaps through his intervention, the Protestants were allowed to go, after they had remained before the walls for 48 hours. Some of the strongest had been smuggled into the city, and 500 of those inside mingled with the crowd outside, and got away with them. James was so incensed with de Rosen that he recalled him, and Hamilton was again in chief command; the gallows in the city was taken down; and the dreary progress of the dreary siege was resumed.

The condition of the besieged grew worse, and on the 13th negotiations for surrender were opened. The Williamites would surrender on the 26th, if not relieved before that date, and then they were to march out with arms in their hands; meanwhile hostilities were to cease. But Hamilton would not allow beyond the 15th, nor would he allow them to march out with arms, except the officers. After a council of war the besieged declared they would not surrender on these terms. While they were yet deliberating, a message came from Kirke that, being unable to come up the Foyle, he would go round by Lough Swilly and relieve them by land. Perhaps it was this message which emboldened them to continue their resistance. But Kirke did not keep his promise, and as the hot days of July passed their sufferings increased. Sometimes, indeed, they sallied from the walls, and sometimes they feebly repelled the assailants; but what could starving men do but watch and hope? The soldiers died rapidly; death and mourning were in every house; such was the dearth of provisions that weeds and herbs were eaten; a mouse sold for sixpence, a rat for a shilling, a cat for four and sixpence, a quarter of a dog for five shillings; horse flesh was a luxury; tallow and hides were greedily consumed; and a certain fat man in the city fancied he saw the soldiers eyeing him greedily, as if they meant to make a meal of him, and in consequence he hid himself for three days. The gaze of the famished multitude was ever eagerly turned down the Foyle; from the summit of the Cathedral flags of distress were waved; and as the soldiers paced the walls, or climbed to the highest point of the buildings, they wistfully looked to Kirke's

vessels, and prayed that he would at least make an attempt to save them.

At last, on the 28th of July, the attempt was made. At about 7 o'clock in the evening the watchers on the walls perceived three vessels approaching the fort of Culmore. They proved to be the Mountjoy of Derry, and the Phœnix of Coleraine, both laden with provisions, and escorted by the Dartmouth frigate. From the Culmore fort itself and from the new fort on the opposite side a terrible fire with cannon and small shot was opened on them; but, wafted by a favouring breeze, they held on, and to the enemy's fire they spiritedly answered with their guns. After a time the boom was reached. The first vessel which struck it—the Mountjoy—recoiled and ran aground; the enemy were exultant and redoubled their fire; but the Mountjoy, answering them with a broadside, was again floated, and then advancing, crashed through the boom. Her captain was killed and so also were four others on board, and as the three vessels advanced, the fire upon them from the shore was continuous. But all three arrived safely at the quay just as the shades of night were falling; and the famished multitude flocked to the waterside to welcome their deliverers. Three days later the besiegers decamped, and the siege of Derry was over, a siege in which little skill had been shown on either side, but great bravery, and on the side of the besieged, a stubborn tenacity, a patience, and a spirit of self-sacrifice which has been rarely equalled in war.[53]

The loss of Derry, and the other disasters which followed, James might have avoided, if he had hearkened to the warning given him by the French King. That monarch had early divined the designs of the Prince of Orange, given timely warning to James, and offered to aid him. But the warning was disregarded and his aid rejected with disdain;[54] and when the Prince of Orange did land in England, French attention was turned away from English affairs, and the French forces employed otherwise than in

[53] Walker's, Mackenzie's and Ashe's *Narratives;* Story's *Continuation*, pp. 4-5; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 318-22; Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 747-54, 766-71.

[54] Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 548-50; Lingard, Vol. X., pp. 158-60.

helping James. Yet the exile's welcome in France was cordial: and when he resolved to recover the throne he had lost, the French King gave him assistance. It was to urge the speedy sending of such supplies that, in January, Tyrconnell sent two envoys to France—Lord Mountjoy and Judge Rice—though ostensibly their mission was to induce James to allow the Irish to submit to his adversary. Secret instructions were given to Rice, who was a Catholic and a strong Jacobite; they were kept from Mountjoy, a strong Protestant and a Williamite; and when the delegates arrived in Paris, Rice was welcomed, but Mountjoy was thrown into the Bastile.' But while Louis wished for the success of James, he had no great respect for his capacity; and while he would give him no army, he furnished him with ships, £112,000 in money, and arms and ammunition for 10,000 men. With these supplies James set sail from Brest and arrived safely at Kinsale, on the 12th of March. Of the officers, Maumont and Pusignan were destined to perish at Derry, and de Rosen to fail; James's illegitimate son, the Duke of Berwick, also served in Ulster with Hamilton; and an Irish soldier, Colonel Sarsfield, already of proved capacity, was destined to be yet more distinguished in the coming years. Passing on to Cork, the King was met by Tyrconnell, whom he created a Duke, and by General McCarthy, who had done good service in Munster against the Williamites, and who was now created Lord Mountcashel; accompanied by these, James proceeded to Dublin, where he arrived on Palm Sunday, the 24th of March. At Cork, and on his way to Dublin, and at Dublin itself, his reception was warm. After taking counsel with his supporters, it was resolved to call a Parliament, but meanwhile James went to Derry and returned.[55]

On the 7th of May the Parliament met. In the House of Lords only 14 of the 54 members were Protestants; in the House of Commons the disproportion was greater still.[56] Some of the members were officers who had served abroad; some were lawyers; the greater part were country gentlemen, of good family but of

[55] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 32, 296-8; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 43-7.
[56] Davis's *Patriot Parliament of* 1689, pp. 12-13—Appendix.

small estate, with no large amount of education, and no experience of the work of legislation. And yet many of the Acts of this Parliament showed a desire to be just; and the enactments giving liberty of conscience to all, establishing the independence of Parliament and of the courts of justice, removing the restrictions on trade, granting bounties for the building of ships, and establishing schools of navigation in the seaport towns, were all deserving of praise.[57] But the repeal of the Act of Settlement was more difficult to defend. All attainders and forfeitures of estates since the 23rd of October, 1641, were reversed; the Cromwellians, or those who inherited from them by blood or marriage, were to be sent adrift without any compensation for buildings or improvements, but they could take away their crops; those who had purchased from such, or had lent money on their lands were to be compensated by the new owners.[58] These were the proprietors of 1641, or their lawful heirs; and to discover who these were, as well as to measure the amount of compensation, where such was to be given, a Court of Claims was set up. Finally, the estates of the London companies were vested in the King, and so also were the goods and lands of those in rebellion since August 1st, 1688; and he got power to reprise deserving individuals not provided for by the Court of Claims.[59]

The last enactment, and the worst, was one by which more than 1,800 persons were attainted of high treason. The larger number for being actually in rebellion, these being commanded to stand their trial before the 10th of August, failing which, they were declared guilty. Those who had left the country since the 5th of November, 1688, were declared guilty unless they returned before the 1st of September, 1689; while a third class were those who had left Ireland before November, 1688; these were commanded to return before the 1st of October, 1689; or if James should before that date go to England, they were to signify to him their loyalty there.[60] It is quite true that at the very

[57] Davis, pp. 44, 47, 56-7, 59, 61.—Appendix.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-8, 121.
[60] King, pp. 232-6; Davis, pp. 125-34.

date on which the Irish Act was passed, a similar Act was sought to be passed in the English Parliament against the followers of King James in Ireland, and would have become law but for the House of Lords and King William ;[61] but this will only prove the injustice of the intended English Act, not the justice of the Irish one ; and it is to the credit of King James that he disapproved of the Irish Act. At the date of its passing, William was already acknowledged King of England, and many in Ireland doubted to which King their allegiance was due. The men of Derry and Enniskillen were undoubtedly rebels, for they had rushed to arms even before James had left England ; but in many cases those who fled to England went through fear, and might have given no aid to William ; they were merely spectators of the conflict, and were ready to give allegiance to whoever prevailed. And it was impolitic, as well as unjust, to punish men on mere suspicion. It taught the Irish Protesants that neutrality would not do ; that they had little justice or fair play to get from a Catholic King ; and that the Irish Catholics, when triumphant, could be guilty of those acts of cruelty and intolerance of which they had so often complained.

It would have been much better for the Jacobites to have concentrated their energies on the war. While they spent their time in angry and useless debates, the Derrymen were gallantly defending their city ; the Enniskilleners, though nominally besieged, in reality were free to issue forth and menace their opponents ; and at Ballyshannon a detachment of them helped to repel an attack of Sarsfield. Another detachment assailed the Duke of Berwick near Derry, but Berwick beat them back with loss. A third and stronger force assailed Lord Mountcashel near Lisnaskea. He fell back to Newton-Butler, burned that town, and took up a strong position in its rear. During the battle which followed one division of the army, being ordered to relieve some troops on the right who were hard pressed, understood the order to be one to retreat, and, throwing down their arms, they fled, panic-stricken, from the field. The cavalry effected their escape ; the foot were overtaken and slaughtered without mercy ; Mountcashel

[61] Davis, p. 143 ; Lecky's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 132-4.

was severely wounded and taken prisoner to Enniskillen.[62] Such was the condition of the Jacobites in Ulster, a few weeks after the Dublin Parliament had ceased legislating: Derry relieved, Ballyshannon not taken, Enniskillen triumphant, Mountcashel's army wiped out. On the 12th of August following, the greatest of the Williamite generals landed in Belfast Lough, with an army of 20,000 men; and the conflict, hitherto between Irishmen and for the triumph of one Irish party over another, became a great international struggle.

[62] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 310-16—(O'Callaghan's *Notes*.)

CHAPTER XXII.

The Struggle for the Crown.

THE western portion of the Department of Vaucluse, in France, was formerly the Principality of Orange, and in the early part of the 16th century, became the inheritance of the Count of Nassau, and from him it passed to his cousin, William of the Netherlands, who thus became Prince of Orange.[1] He is still regarded as one of the heroes of his own country, the foe of Spain, the advocate of national freedom, the champion of Protestantism. When he was murdered in 1584, the power of Spain was broken in his native land, and the Protestants had asserted their religious freedom.[2] His death was widely lamented as that of a patriot and a statesman, and by the Confederacy of States which he had helped to call into existence, the position of first magistrate or Statholder was conferred successively on members of his family. In 1647, William II. became Prince of Orange and Statholder, but he died in 1650, leaving an infant son, William, afterwards William III. of England. At that date the independence of the Netherlands was recognised by Spain. Each of the separate provinces which formed the union had its own assembly, and sent a number of delegates to a central council called the States General, invested with supervising powers over the whole united provinces. Of this assembly the Statholder was president. But the office was elective, not hereditary, and, if it had been conferred hitherto on the Princes of Orange, it was

[1] Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. I., pp. 119-20.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 894-900.

because of their eminent public services, and of their abilities, rather than because of any hereditary right. In 1650 the office was abolished, and de Witt, invested with the title of Grand Pensionary, became President of the States General and chief of the Republic. Four years later, in a treaty between the States-General and Cromwell, the Princes of Orange were for ever excluded from the office of Statholder, should it be revived, and the young Prince of Orange, while growing to manhood, was ignored by the heads of the State, and debarred from all public offices. Nor was it until 1672 that a change came. For more than twenty years de Witt had then ruled over the destinies of the Netherlands; and though his abilities were great, and his services to the Republic such as could not be forgotten, he had powerful enemies at home; and, when, in 1672, the French invaded his country, conquered part of it, and seemed likely to conquer the whole, the rage of the populace was turned against him, and he and his brother were murdered. These events opened the way for the Prince of Orange, who was called to the public service, invested with the office of Statholder, which was again revived, and given command of the Dutch forces, both on land and sea. For six years he struggled against France. During that period he had given evidence of considerable talent, both for diplomacy and war, and so established himself in the estimation of his countrymen that the office of Statholder was made hereditary in his family.[3]

From the first, he regarded France with hostility. That country had attacked the Netherlands; it was Catholic, and intolerant of Protestantism; Louis had seized on the Principality of Orange, and added it to his dominions; and William had sworn to be revenged. His close connection with the English royal family, as the nephew and son-in-law of James II., caused his relations with England to be friendly. But he had little sympathy with the policy of Charles II. towards France, still less with the anxiety of James for the triumph of Catholicism; he even leant a willing ear to the malcontents who flocked from England to Holland; and when the time was ripe, he seconded their efforts with all

[3] Harris's *Life of William III.*, pp. 11-40.

his strength, and wrenched the sceptre from James's hand. With great adroitness, and little scruple, he got land and sea forces from the States-General, by proclaiming that it was James's intention to make England Catholic, and then by coalescing with France, to enslave the Netherlands. He got the support of the Emperor and Spain, by declaring that his object was to curb the ambition of France; and on the same pretext, he got money from the Pope, which he used to dethrone a Catholic sovereign, and to aid the Protestants of Derry, whom he encouraged to fight against Popery and slavery.[4] He lulled James's suspicions by earnest professions of friendship, and by assuring him that his preparations were against France; and while he declared that he landed in England only to have the freedom of Parliament, and the safety of the Protestant religion ensured, he accepted the English crown.

Even when seated on the throne of England he found his new position beset with difficulties. Portion of his army mutinied; the Scotch Highlands rose to arms; France declared war; some of the bishops refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, and became known as Non-Jurors; Parliament refused his request to grant some toleration to the Catholics; and, thus, with disloyalty in the army, and war in Scotland, and dangers from abroad, and factions at home, the King could do little for the reduction of Ireland. He was able, however, to send some aid to Enniskillen and to Derry, and in August a large English army was landed on the east coast of Ulster.[5]

It was commanded by Marshal Schomberg. A native of the Palatinate, and a Protestant, he took service in the French army, where his promotion was rapid, until, finally, he became Marshal, and acquired a reputation second only to that of Turenne and Conde. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he left the French service and entered the army of the Elector of Brandenburgh, and, when William was coming to England, he accompanied him with the Elector's permission. So much was his aid appreciated, that the English Parliament voted him £100,000, and William conferred

[4] Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 16, Harris, pp. 123-5; St. Simon's *Memoirs*, Vol. II., pp. 82-5.

[5] Harris, pp. 173, 178, 220, 242.

a dukedom on him.[6] In July, he was appointed to conduct the campaign in Ireland, with Count Solms as his second in command.[7] But when he arrived at Chester, on his way to Ireland, he found himself confronted by difficulties. The transport arrangements were bad, and the government contractors corrupt; provisions were deficient; the bombs badly charged; the cannon badly cast; the arms badly constructed; there was a want of general officers; none fit for the office of brigadier; while the artillery officers were ignorant, lazy and cowardly.[8] Count Solms, on his side, complained of Schomberg's inactivity, and of his so favouring the French officers, that of eight *aides-de-camp* only one could speak English.[9] Some of these drawbacks remained, but the difficulties of transport were got over, and, on the 12th of August, Schomberg and his army landed safely at Bangor. The outlook for William now appeared more favourable. Derry and Enniskillen had saved Ulster; the defeat of Newtown Butler had weakened and dispirited the Jacobites, and, except Carrickfergus, Newry, and Charlemont, all Ulster was lost to them. Numbers and bravery were not wanting; but the soldiers in great part were only half-armed and half-drilled; and except some small bodies of cavalry under Hamilton, and Galmoy, and Sarsfield, there were few who could be depended on against regular troops. James had got but scanty help from France; his money was spent; brass money was coined, and to provide even this was difficult; and so it happened that no opposition was offered to Schomberg's landing, and little to his taking possession of Belfast and Carrickfergus and Newry. When he had garrisoned these places, he advanced south to Dundalk, where he halted and encamped.[10]

Some of the Jacobites advocated leaving Dublin to the enemy and crossing the Shannon; but James was determined "not to be walked out of Ireland, without having at least one blow for it," and in this he was supported by Tyrconnell; and, instead of

[6] Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 65.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 97-8, 188.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220, 231.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[10] Story's *Continuation*, pp. 7-9.

abandoning Dublin, he marched north from Drogheda to Ardee. If Story be correct, he had 28,000 armed men under his command, and 10,000 others partially armed, a force which, in numbers, though not in equipment, was superior to that of his opponent. Schomberg settled down at Dundalk, and a little north of the town, at the junction of the Newry and Carlingford roads, he formed an entrenched camp; west and south of the town he also threw up entrenchments, and, in these various positions, protected in each case by artillery, he distributed his army. His policy was to wait and see what the enemy intended to do. At an early stage, they attempted to intercept his communications with Newry, but the force told off for the purpose was insufficient, and was driven back. About the same time, Colonel Lloyd, with the Enniskillen men, crossed the Curlews, and defeated a body of Connaught militia, with heavy loss. But this defeat was quickly avenged by Sarsfield, who captured Jamestown, and then marching by night to Sligo, compelled the Williamites there to surrender. These places he garrisoned, as he did Galway, and thus, in a short time, he had cleared all Connaught of the Williamites, and was able to hold it for King James.[11] A second attempt was made by the Jacobites in the direction of Newry, in November, when General Boisseleau attacked the place with 1,700 men. But he was eventually driven off, although he had so nearly succeeded that some of his troops had entered the town.[12]

For some months nothing further was done. Schomberg remained inactive, and when King William urged him to push the enemy before they got aid from France, or his own army perished from disease, he answered that he could take no risks; that an aggressive policy might prove fatal; and that, if the army was once put in disorder, it could not be re-established.[13] At his first coming to Dundalk, he discovered a conspiracy among his troops. Some French Catholics among them had intended to admit the enemy into the camp; but the conspiracy was discovered in time; the ring-leaders were hanged; and 250 of the soldiers were

[11] Todhunter's *Life of Sarsfield*, pp. 41-3.
[12] Story, p. 10.
[13] Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 286-88.

disarmed, and sent to England.[14] Following upon this, came the autumn rains. The weather was excessively cold; the trenches were filled with water; the ground was damp; the huts were uncomfortable and unhealthy; the horses, without sufficient forage, died fast; the soldiers were ill-clad; disease broke out, and thousands died.[15] The survivors grew desperate, and gave themselves up to impious revelry; joked at the sufferings of their comrades; cursed, swore, sang immoral songs; drank the health of the devil in glasses of usquebagh; sat upon the corpses of their dead comrades, and murmured when they were taken away, as they had then to sit on the damp ground.[16] The Jacobite Secretary for War, Nagle, circulated a pamphlet among them, with the object of getting them to desert; and, in allusion to what they were suffering, he pointed out that it was the punishment of their treason to a lawful king; it was the vengeance of God that had overtaken them, and proceeded from the same hand which destroyed so many thousands in the camp of Sennacherib.[17] To escape utter destruction, Schomberg, in November, decamped from Dundalk, and set up his headquarters at Lisburn. When he first came to Dundalk, he had nearly 19,000 men under his command,[18] but when he quitted the place, he had less than half that number. It was James's opportunity; and, if he had fallen on the dispirited ranks of his opponents as they marched north, encumbered with sick, he might easily have overwhelmed them. But he was not a man to seize an opportunity—no doubt his own army had also suffered and was weakened—and, instead of attacking Schomberg, he followed his example, and decamped from near Dundalk. Some of his army he left at Drogheda; other portions were scattered throughout Leinster; and James himself and his officers spent the winter at Dublin in debauchery, with little thought for the coming campaign.[19]

[14] Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 269-70.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 272-3, 276-8, 299-301; Bellingham's *Diary*.
[16] Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 382-3; Macaulay, Vol. II., p. 91.
[17] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 326-30; *Jacobite Narrative*—(Nagle's Letters), pp. 251-3.
[18] Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 273. The exact number was 18,888.
[19] *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 41.

There was grave disappointment in England. A Marshal of France, at the head of 20,000 men, had done nothing, except to capture Carrickfergus; had subsequently remained three months inactive; and had lost, during that time, far more men than if he fought several battles.[20] Instead of marching forward to Dublin, he had marched back to Lisburn, and only with half his army. William felt constrained to announce that he would go to Ireland himself, and money was voted to him for the purpose. For the present, however, his departure had to be deferred. Party feeling ran so high in the House of Commons that he dissolved the Parliament. A general election took place in February, and not until the 4th of June was William able to leave for Ireland.[21]

But, meanwhile, additional troops were sent to Schomberg. In January, 7,000 Danes came over under the Prince of Wurtemburgh; in May, several English and Dutch regiments landed; money and arms were also sent; the troops, formerly at Dundalk, had recovered their reason and their spirits; Schomberg was again strong; and, though nothing decisive was done, there were some minor successes to record.[22] In December, Belturbet was taken; in May, Colonel Wolsely defeated Berwick at Cavan;[23] and Charlemont, a place of great strength, which gave much annoyance to Schomberg, and was gallantly defended by Teague O'Regan, surrendered in May. O'Regan and his troops were allowed to march out with arms and baggage, taking also their women and children with them. Teague is described, by Story, as old and weather-beaten and hunchbacked, badly clad, mounted on an old spavined horse, and almost tipsy with brandy. At all events, he was a good soldier, and had made a stubborn defence against vastly superior numbers; and so highly did James appreciate his services, that he conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and appointed him Governor of Sligo.[24]

On the 14th of June, William himself landed at Carrickfergus, being accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of

[20] Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 272-3; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 330-1.
[21] Harris, pp. 254, 309; Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 496, 528.
[22] Hardy, p. 320; Story, p. 11.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 534.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 320, Story, pp 15-16

Ormond, and several English nobles, some of them officers in his army, and some being volunteers. His reception was warm, and at Belfast, whither he marched without delay, he was met by Schomberg and General Scravemore and Count Solms, and was presented with addresses of welcome by the gentry, the Episcopal clergy, and the Presbyterians. At Hillsborough he issued a proclamation against plundering by his soldiers, and against pressing horses and carts from the people without due authority.[25] He gave orders for the whole army to take the field, and, when some of his officers counselled delay, he answered that he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet, but to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. At the head of all his troops, he marched through Loughbrickland and Newry, to Dundalk. South of Newry, his advance guard came into touch with the enemy, and a detachment of 200 of his men were taken prisoners. But the Jacobites, though somewhat encouraged by this small success, failed to make a stand at the Moyry Pass, nor did they remain at Dundalk, but burned the place and passed on to Drogheda and the Boyne. Thither they were followed by William, and, on the 30th of June, the two armies stood facing each other, the Williamites on the north bank, their enemies on the south bank of the river; for James, after much hesitation, had at last resolved to retreat no further, but on this chosen ground to try the issue of battle.

The soldiers in William's army were of many nations, and had come from many lands: from England and from Scotland, and from the counties of Ulster, from the valleys of Switzerland, beneath the shadow of Alpine peaks, from the flats of Holland, from the plains of Brandenburg, from France, from Sweden, and Norway, and Denmark; and once again the Celt and Dane faced each other in battle, as centuries before they had faced each other on the banks of the Liffey.[26] Many of these were mere mercenary soldiers, who would fight for any cause for pay; but the Huguenots, driven from their beloved land by the senseless policy of religious persecution, were embittered against Louis, and, in revenge, fought in the army of his bitterest enemy. Others fought to curb this

[25] Harris, pp. 264-6.
[26] *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 340.

powerful monarch, whose ambition was a menace to Europe; and the Dutch followed their prince who had so often led them to battle. For the most part they were Protestants, and wished for the triumph of Protestantism; but the Dutch Blue Guards, whom William so trusted and loved, were nearly all Catholics, and fought only for King William; and when James, on one occasion, upbraided some of them for serving a Protestant, they answered that their souls belonged to God, but their swords to William of Orange.[27] Among the leaders there was the same diversity as among the rank and file. Schomberg was born in the Palatinate; Ginkle was a Dutchman; their titles indicate the nationality of the Princes of Wurtemburg and Denmark and of the Count of Nassau; Du Cambon and Caillemot were French; Douglas bore a name illustrious in Scottish history.[28] Some of these had already earned distinction; all had experience in war; and whatever rivalries or jealousies might exist in other circumstances were now hushed in the presence of their king. The lowest estimate fixes the amount of William's army at about 40,000; Story says they were at least 36,000, but the world said they were a third more; they had between 50 and 60 guns; they were well clad and provisioned; "an army in all respects, as well provided, as any kingdom in the world had one for the number of men."[29] Such was the army which approached the Boyne on the 30th of June, an army of trained soldiers and experienced officers, relying on the strength of their numbers, the completeness of their equipment, the skill and sagacity of their King, and fully confident of approaching victory.

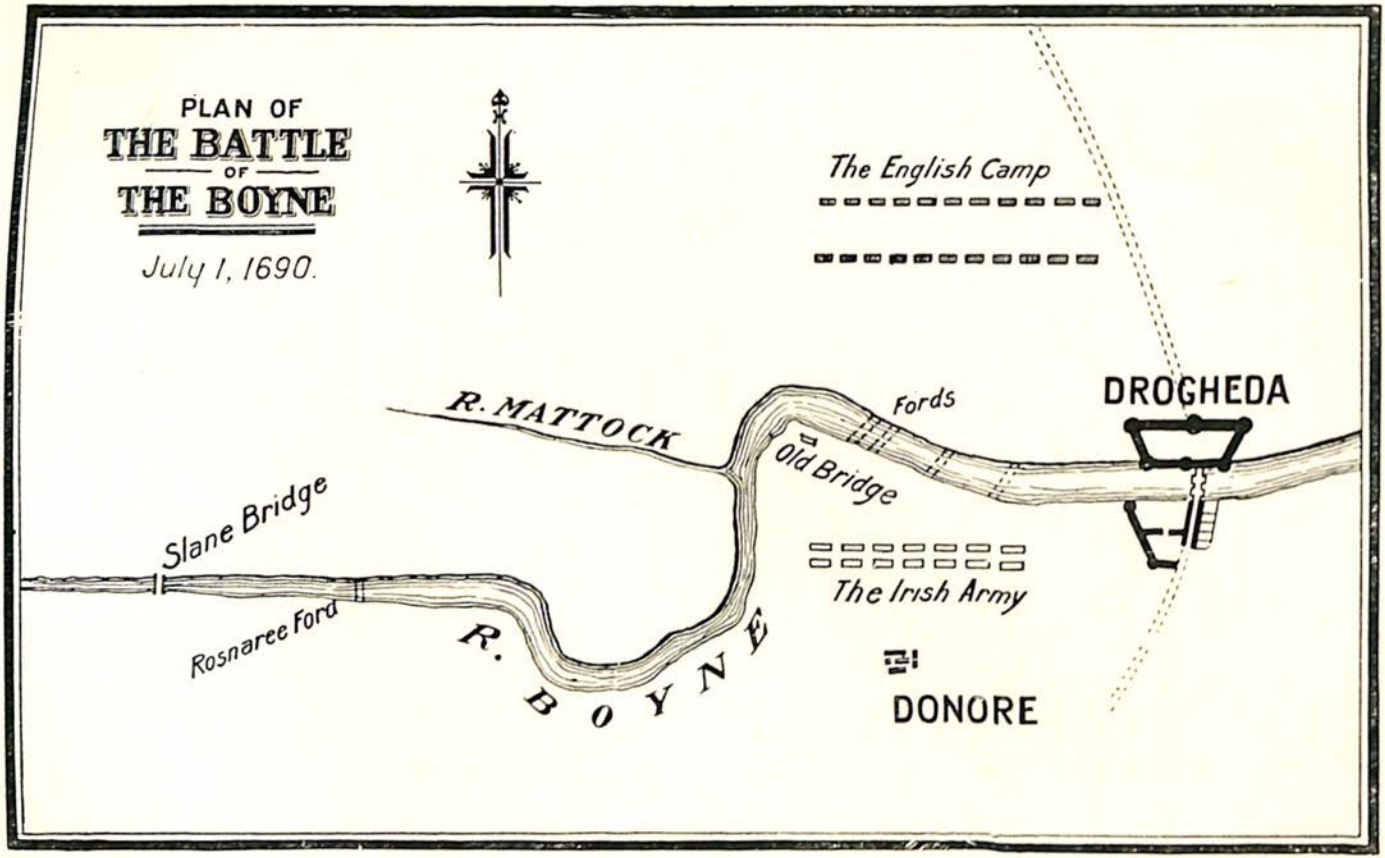
On the opposite bank of the river these conditions were reversed. In asking for a French force, James, with his usual perversity, had insisted that Count Lauzun should be given the command, and this in spite of the strongest opposition of the French war minister, Louvois. It was probably on this account that Louvois sent but 7,000 men. These with Lauzun landed at Kinsale, in March.[30] It was stipulated, however, that an equal number of Irish should

[27] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 186-7.
[28] Story, pp. 28-9.
[29] *Ibid.*, *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 341-3.
[30] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 338-9, 360-1; Clarke, pp. 387-8; Burnet, Vol. III., pp. 18-19.

replace these troops, and by the ships which brought Lauzun's force, 5,000 were sent to France. They were placed under the command of Lord Mountcashel, who had recently escaped from Enniskillen, and formed the nucleus of that Irish army in the service of France, which afterwards became so famous as the Irish Brigade. With these departing Irish there also went D'Avaux, who had been French ambassador in Ireland, and General de Rosen. The former had earnestly counselled James to make a commercial treaty between France and Ireland, and thus benefit both countries by encouraging trade between them; but James refused, thinking such action might prejudice him in the eyes of the English.[31] Nor would he be advised by de Rosen to adopt more vigorous action when Schomberg's army was at Dundalk; and both the general and the ambassador, weary of serving such a king, were glad to return home and leave a country, where neither honour nor victory was to be gained.[32] The force which came with Lauzun were trained soldiers; there were also in James's army many whom Sarsfield and Hamilton had trained; but there were others who were little better than Tories, or Rapparees (to give them their new name); and there were numbers also, whose hands had lately held the plough or the spade, but who, urged into the ranks by the priests, were ready to fight for their altars and their homes.[33]

Compared with William's army, there was a marked inferiority in training and experience, and equally so in numbers. Some have put the amount as low as 20,000; Story puts it as high as 32,000; and perhaps, if an average be struck between these two extremes, we shall be near the truth. There were in all but twelve pieces of cannon.[34] Of the leaders, Sarsfield and Hamilton, and Galmoy and Berwick had given some evidence of ability, but Tyrconnell had little capacity for command; Lauzun was better fitted for a court than for a camp;[35] and as for King James, he was to the last degree vacillating and irresolute. He had thought of

[31] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 45-6; *Studies in Irish History*, pp. 253-4.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 335-6, 383-4.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 341.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 341-3.
[35] St. Simon's *Memoirs*, Vol. III., pp. 384-7, 393-8; Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Vol. XIII., pp. 103-4.



[To face page 419.

blocking the passes from Ulster, and thus retarding the advance of the enemy; he had thought of abandoning Dublin, and retreating behind the Shannon. This would give Louis time to sweep the Channel with his fleet, as in fact, he soon did; it would have cut off William and his army from England; it would, says, Harris, have proved fatal to the enemy if it had taken effect. Without adopting either of these proposals, James fell back on the Boyne, resolving to avoid battle there, but, "finding the position an indifferent good one, set up his rest there and resolved to expect the enemy." [36]

The position was well chosen. Passing by Slane, the Boyne was spanned by a bridge, and a mile further east was the ford of Rosnaree, then passable by cavalry. Here the river turns south and east; then sharply turning north, it receives on its left bank the waters of the Mattock; after which its course is east and south, and finally due east to Drogheda and the sea. On the south bank, in the curve formed after it is joined by the Mattock, was the village of Oldbridge, behind which gradually rose Donore Hill. On its summit James had his headquarters. In front of Oldbridge he had thrown up some breastworks; these, and some small buildings in the village, were manned by foot and by Tyrconnell's dragoons. More to the right were the cavalry under Hamilton and Galmoy and Berwick; Lauzun was with James himself at Donore, in special command of the French, and with him also was Sarsfield, in command of the cavalry at that point. Drogheda was garrisoned by James's troops, but the ford of Rosnaree and the bridge of Slane were left undefended.

Opposite Oldbridge was the hill of Tullyallen, and on its northern slope, William's whole army encamped on the 30th of June. He was thus screened from the enemy's view, while he was enabled to examine their position. The season had been a dry one, and when the tide had ebbed there were several fords at Oldbridge which might be crossed both by infantry and cavalry. To examine these, accompanied by some officers, William rode down to the river on the eve of battle. On his return he was observed by Tyrconnell and Sarsfield from the opposite bank, and two

[36] Burnet, Vol. III., pp. 52-3.

field pieces were turned on his party. The first discharge killed two horses and a man near the King; the second, striking the river bank, rebounded and struck the King himself on the right shoulder, and tore the skin and flesh.[37] As he was seen to lean heavily forward on his horse, the Jacobites thought he was killed, and a report to that effect reached Dublin and even Paris, and caused much rejoicing in both cities; but the wound was not mortal, nor even dangerous, and in no way interfered with him on the following day.

In both armies a council of war was held. Hamilton suggested that a strong force should be sent to defend the bridge at Slane, and another to defend the ford at Rosnaree; but no force was sent to Slane, though Sir Neil O'Neill was sent, with 800 dragoons, to defend Rosnaree. James, it seems, was not confident of success. He had already sent Sir P. Trant to Waterford to have a ship ready for his departure to France; and he had ordered his baggage to be sent to Dublin with an escort, provided with six of his twelve guns; and the whole army soon learned that he was thinking more of deserting his army than of winning a victory. In the Williamite council of war, Schomberg suggested that the bridge at Slane should be passed that very night, and, if this had been done, nothing could have saved the Jacobite army from destruction; for this force could have marched without opposition to Duleek, directly in the rear of James's army. William adopted the advice, but deferred putting it into force until the following morning. The council of war over, he went round his camp at midnight to see that all was well, after which, both armies and both Kings sought repose for a few hours.

At sunrise, William sent 5,000 horse and 8,000 foot across the Mattock, and, in due course, the foot, under Douglas and Overkirk, crossed at Slane, without opposition, while the horse, under Portland and Schomberg, a son of the old Marshal, attempted Rosnaree. For an hour the passage was disputed by O'Neill; but Schomberg brought up his guns and opened fire, and O'Neill was driven back, mortally wounded. The cavalry then crossed and pressed back the Jacobites towards Duleek. Seeing themselves out-flanked, and in danger of being cut off, Lauzun took with him the whole

[37] Story's *Impartial History*.

left centre, a force of 10,000 men, including all the French and some Irish horse under Sarsfield, as well as the six guns, and hastened to confront William's right wing. At this point, however, nothing was done. The two armies were separated by a morass, where cavalry manœuvres were impossible, and even infantry could do little, and across this space they watched each other for hours.

Meantime, important events had taken place near Oldbridge. From an early hour William's artillery had played on the breastworks and buildings there, without, however, any great progress being made. But when he was informed that his right wing had safely crossed at Slane and Rosnaree, he put his force near Oldbridge, into motion. It was then ten o'clock. The sun shone out; the sky was cloudless, the day was dry and warm. The Irish centre had been materially weakened by the departure of Lauzun's force; and, through a valley on William's right, his whole force of foot advanced to the river banks. Old Schomberg was in command. The fords farthest from Drogheda were taken by the Blue Guards, next came the French Huguenots under Caillemot, farther down Hanmer's and Nassau's troops and part of the Enniskilleners; furthest of all the Danes. The want of artillery was here felt by the Irish, with fatal effect. In midstream the Blue Guards were met with a volley from Tyrconnell's dragoons; but the marksmanship was bad, and the Dutch crossed and formed on the south bank, driving before them the Irish, some of whom behaved like cowards. Against the Huguenots and Enniskilleners, some regiments of foot were brought, but portion of them fled, panic-stricken, from the field. The cavalry did better, those under Hamilton particularly well. Hamilton himself was ubiquitous. He drove the Huguenots back into the river, as he did Hanmer's and Nassau's regiments, and he charged the Danes so fiercely, that they retreated to the other bank of the Boyne, and they came back, says Story, quicker than they went. To aid the centre, the right wing, under Berwick and Galmoy, were called in, and gave valuable assistance, driving the enemy repeatedly back by vigorous cavalry charges. In one of these charges Caillemot was mortally wounded, and as he was carried dying, to the other side of the river, he urged his men forward, crying, "*A la*

gloire, mes enfants, à la gloire." Schomberg determined to take the place of the fallen leader, and, without waiting to put on his helmet, rushed impetuously across the river. His fate was the fate of Caillemot; and with two sabre cuts in his head and a bullet wound in his neck, he fell dead. Near the same place, and about the same time, the Rev. George Walker was killed. He had been named Bishop of Derry by King William, who appreciated his efforts at Derry, but who had no sympathy with militant clergymen, and, who, when informed of Walker's death, gruffly asked, "What took him there?

For more than an hour these charges and counter-charges continued, during which nothing could be seen but dust and smoke. The weight of numbers began to tell, and the Irish gradually fell back to Donore Hill. But here a new danger threatened them; for William, with his whole left wing had crossed the river between Oldbridge and Drogheda, and was now riding hard at the head of his cavalry for Donore, and threatened to reach it before the Irish themselves. The Irish cavalry, however, were first to arrive, reached the summit before him, and dashed upon the King's forces with a cheer, driving them back in confusion. The King was in great danger, and one of the Enniskilleners, not knowing him, was about to shoot him down, until the Colonel called out it was the King. Then, at the head of the Enniskilleners themselves, William charged the Irish, but was driven back. He was struck by two balls, one of which carried away the heel of his boot. Finally, he made a fresh charge at the head of the Blue Guards, and, after some desperate fighting, the Irish were driven from Donore Hill. Further on, the Enniskilleners were pressing the retreating Irish, and Hamilton made a charge of cavalry and swept them back; but he pressed them too far, and was severely wounded and taken prisoner. It is said, that the King asked him if he thought the Irish would fight any more, and he answered, "Upon my honour, I think they will." "Your honour?" said the King contemptuously, thinking, perhaps, of the promises Hamilton had made to bring over Tyrconnell, and how he had broken them. Berwick and Galmoy conducted the retreat to Duleek, where they were joined by Lauzun; the retreat of the whole army was continued to Dublin. William's

cavalry pursued as far as Naul; but the retreat all through was well managed, and the Irish lost at most, not more than 1,500, the loss on the other side being about a third of that number. William left some of his army at Naul, and returned himself to Duleek, where he slept in his carriage among his troops. Night had then fallen, and the Battle of the Boyne was lost and won.

King James had remained with Lauzun's force, and hearing that the enemy had crossed at Oldbridge, ordered Lauzun to attack William's right wing; but Sarsfield had reconnoitred the ground, and knew it would be ruinous to carry out the order, and so it was not persisted in. Soon after, James, without waiting for Lauzun to gain Duleek, took Sarsfield and a bodyguard and retreated to Dublin, where he arrived at 10 o'clock. He told Lady Tyrconnell that the Irish had shamefully run away, to which the lady is said to have replied, "But your Majesty won the race." He vowed never again to head an Irish army; he would shift for himself, as the Irish must also do.[38] The next day he posted off for Waterford, and set sail for France, being the first to bring to that country the news of his own defeat.[39]

Deserted, and even defamed, by the King for whom they had sacrificed so much, it would not be surprising if the Irish had made terms with King William. But, after all, their loss at the Boyne was not great. Except Hamilton, all their leaders were still with them; and on their arrival at Dublin they learned that the French army had gained on land the battle of Fleurus; while the French fleet had beaten the English and Dutch off Beachy Head, and, for the moment, were masters of the sea. If unity and discipline were maintained, all might yet be retrieved; at least the struggle could be prolonged until, perhaps, a fresh French army might arrive. The victors of the Boyne might soon be vanquished; and, in expectation that events would take some such favourable turn, the whole Irish

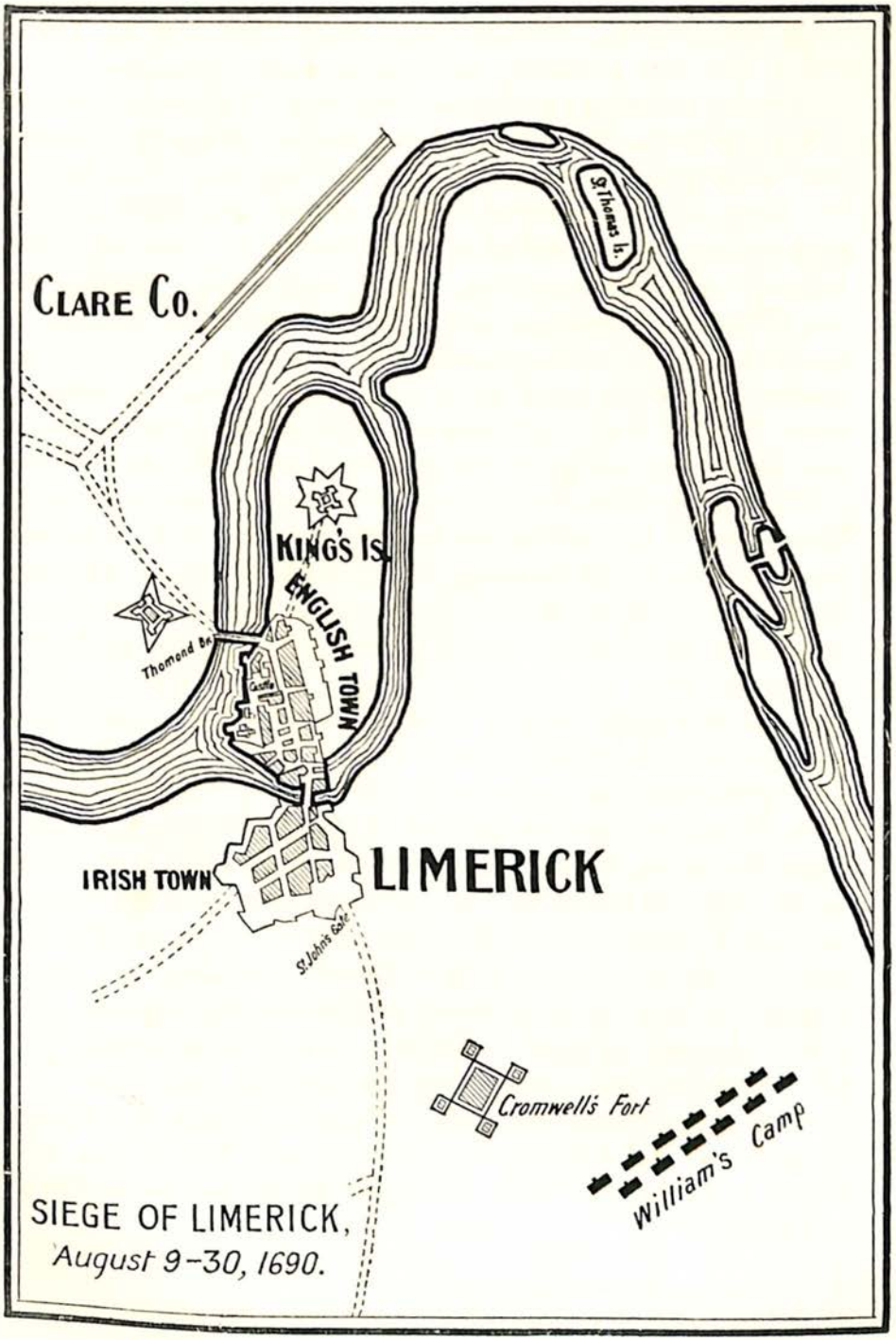
[38] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 355-6; Berwick's *Memoirs*, Vol. I., pp. 350-2.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-6, 346-60; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 393-401; Story, pp. 18-26; Bellingham's *Diary*; Hardy's *Calendar*, 53-4, 59; Harris, pp. 267-71; Ranke's *History of England*, Vol. VI., pp. 140-3—(*Journal of a Jacobite Officer*); 117-24—(Lauzun's Letter to M. Seignelay); *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 98-103.

army, marching by different roads, made their way to Limerick "as if they were guided by some secret instinct of nature." [40]

The day following his victory at the Boyne, Drogheda surrendered to King William, the garrison being allowed to march to Athlone, but without arms. Except this, nothing was done for days. The Irish army was allowed to enter and occupy Dublin; nor were they in any way molested on their march to Limerick, though William's army, by a vigorous pursuit, might have destroyed them. But William was cautious and prudent, rather than brilliant; and believed little in running great risks, which might lead to great results, but, on the other hand, might lead to great disasters. He knew that the Irish army had lost little at the Boyne, where they had shown themselves to be good soldiers. As they advanced south, their numbers would increase rather than diminish, while he himself would be entering an enemy's country; and, if he sent a separate force to the Shannon, the Irish might reverse the story of the Boyne. He therefore kept his whole army together, nor was it for some days that he moved south, and set up his headquarters at Finglas. There he learned of the defeat off Beachy Head. Fearing that his transports were not safe in Dublin Bay, and might be attacked and destroyed by the French fleet, he endeavoured to secure Waterford as a safer place of refuge. With this object in view, he took the greater part of his army with him and marched south, capturing Wexford, Kilkenny, Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir, on his way. Waterford he also captured, and then marched back to Carrick, where he left his army under the command of Count Solms. He returned to Dublin himself, intending to proceed to England at once, as he believed his presence was required there.[41] But he changed his mind. The French made no attempt to destroy his transports, and did nothing in England, but land a small force at Teignmouth, and burn the place. There was, therefore, no pressing necessity to leave Ireland, and William was able to return to his army; and on the 9th of August was before the walls of Limerick.[42]

[40] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 55-6.
[41] Harris, pp. 278, 281; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 365-6.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 282-5.



[To face page 425.

In the meantime, General Douglas had been ordered to Athlone, and, on the 17th of July, summoned that town.[43] The governor was an old soldier, Colonel Grace, and in answer to the message sent by Douglas, he fired a loaded pistol in the air, and bade the messenger tell his chief that was the only answer he had to give. He had already destroyed the English town on the left bank of the river, and he had constructed a line of breastworks on the right bank, at each extremity of which he placed a battery of two guns; the castle on the Connaught side was also manned with cannon; the bridge was broken; and the guns at the castle and at the earth-works swept the river. In the face of such resistance, the Williamites found it impossible to cross. Forage was also becoming scarce, and sickness broke out among the troops; and a report was current, and believed, that Sarsfield was coming to relieve the place with 15,000 men. On the 25th, Douglas raised the siege, having lost, principally by sickness, between 300 and 400 men. He had done nothing to restrain the plundering of his soldiers; and, in spite of William's proclamations, some of those who had taken out protections were shamefully robbed, with the result that many of the Irish joined the Rapparees and harassed Douglas's army on its retreat. His orders were to join the main body, and, after suffering much from the Rapparees, and from want of provisions, he arrived at Limerick on the 8th of August.[44]

The prospect of defending the place against so large an army as that under William, now augmented by Douglas's force, was certainly not hopeful, and among the leaders, within the city, there were divergent views. Both Lauzun and Tyrconnell were in favour of making terms with William. The Frenchman wanted to get back to France, having no taste for the hardships of an Irish campaign. The situation of Limerick was unhealthy; many of the soldiers were already ill; and the defences were poor, and excited the contempt of one who had seen the elaborate fortifications of Vauban. There was neither rampart nor tower on which cannon could be placed, and Lauzun's opinion was that "the place could

[43] *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 367.
[44] Harris, pp. 282-3—*Appendices*, 47, 48.

be taken with roasted apples."[45] In addition to this, Tyrconnell knew that no help would come from France. The tale of Irish cowardice at the Boyne had been told by James himself, and repeated by Lauzun, and, later still, by the Duchess of Tyrconnell, and in Paris the strongest indignation was aroused against the Irish. Instead of sending fresh supplies, an order came that the French already in Ireland should return home.[46] In anticipation of some such order, Lauzun left Limerick for Galway, taking with him many heavy guns and a large supply of ammunition. Lauzun's and Tyrconnell's views were shared by some of the officers who had estates and wanted to keep them, but the rank and file of the army, as well as some of the officers, were for fighting it out. They believed the English would keep no treaty; they were, besides, anxious to vindicate their characters, to show that the accusations of cowardice made against them were false. Among this war party, which soon carried the day in spite of Tyrconnell, were the Duke of Berwick, and Luttrel, lately governor of Dublin; most prominent of all was Sarsfield. Descended on his father's side from an Anglo-Irish stock, on his mother's side he came from the O'Mores of Leix; and of all classes of his countrymen he enjoyed the respect and love more than any other living Irishman. In France and in England, as well as at home, his devotion to a soldier's duty had been shown; the French commanders held him in the highest esteem; and even James, who at first thought little of him, came in time to value his capacity. Among his soldiers he enforced discipline, and he inspired confidence; his bravery, skill, honour and unselfishness were recognised by friend and foe; and even before Lauzun had left Limerick, a council of officers voted that, while Tyrconnell was to be the Captain-General, Sarsfield was to be his second in command. But Tyrconnel had no intention of remaining at Limerick, and soon followed Lauzun to Galway; nor had he any wish to honour Sarsfield; and, before he left Limerick, he appointed Boisseleau, a French officer, as governor of the city, Berwick, Sarsfield, Dorrington, Maxwell and Wauchope being his chief assistants.[47]

[45] Ranke, Vol. VI., p. 124.
[46] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 54-5; Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 100.
[47] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 58-9.

These debates and divisions at Limerick were well known to King William, who hurried on without waiting for his siege train, hoping that the city would at once submit. This hope was strengthened, when he learned that Lauzun and the French had left. On the 9th of August he advanced with his whole army from Cahirconlish, drove in the Irish outposts, and reaching Ireton's Fort, not far from the walls, he planted some cannon there, and opened fire on the city. That evening he summoned the place to surrender; but Boisseleau answered he was surprised at the summons, and he thought the best way to earn William's good opinion was " by a vigorous defence of that town, which his master had entrusted him withal." They were brave words, for the task he had undertaken was heavy, and though Lauzun, for his own purposes, had exaggerated the poverty of the city defences, they were indeed poor, and ill-fitted to repel the attacks of a powerful army. The wall was the same as that which had so long defied the efforts of Ireton, but, in part, had since crumbled away. That which surrounded the Irish town was the most substantial; in part it was a double wall, and had bastions and towers; and Boisseleau had strengthened the whole wall with earthworks. On a citadel, at the south-west corner, some guns were placed, others on a projecting spur at the south gate, others at St. John's gate, while more to the north-east was a sally port, near which was the Black Battery, manned by three guns. A covered way connected the south and St. John's gates; near the latter were two small forts; and more to the north-east was a redoubt. The number of guns was much less than those of the enemy, and so was the number of the defenders, for of the 20,000 foot inside the walls not more than half were armed. The cavalry, numbering 3,500, were on the Clare side, some distance from the city, and were under Berwick and Sarsfield. A force guarded the fords north of the city, but these were withdrawn by Tyrconnell before he left for Galway, as if he wished to coerce the place into surrendering. The undefended passages were promptly seized by the Williamites, and a strong force of cavalry crossed under Ginkle and Kirk, and thus threatened to assail the English town, as they had already done the Irish town.

On the 10th, a French deserter from the Williamites entered

Limerick, with the news that a convoy from Dublin was on its way to King William, bringing heavy siege guns, a large supply of ammunition, and some pontoons; if this convoy arrived safely, the position of the city would be much endangered. Sarsfield volunteered to destroy it, and, taking with him 600 picked horsemen, he left Limerick on Sunday night, the 10th, crossed Thomond Bridge into Clare, and proceeding north crossed the Shannon at Killaloe. He had as his guide a noted Rapparee chief, Galloping Hogan, to whom every lane, and turn, and pass were as familiar as the streets of Limerick were to its citizens. Before daybreak Sarsfield arrived at Keeper Hill, and encamped in the recesses of its southern slope, where all that day was spent. From scouts he sent out he learned that the convoy, which numbered only 100 men, would encamp for the night at Ballyneety, seven miles from Limerick, and that the password for the night was "Sarsfield;" and, with this knowledge he passed the day. The Williamites, who belonged to Villiers' horse, encamped on an open ground, on one side of which were some earthen fences, on the other a ruined castle into which they might have put their guns; or they might have put themselves in a position of defence on the very ground they occupied. But they were near Limerick, and felt safe, and, to increase their feeling of security, Sarsfield during the day had sent three of his officers in disguise, who assured the Williamites that from the Irish nothing was to be feared. Thus, careless, confident and unsuspicious, the English commander put but a few guards on duty; the horses were turned loose, and the soldiers laid down to rest. Stealthily the enemy approached, having been since nightfall on the march. The harvest moon was in the sky, its light fitful and intermittent, its face often hidden by clouds which chased each other across the heavens. These periods of darkness, however, did not retard the advance, for Hogan was a skilful guide. At last the outer sentry was reached, and to his challenge the correct password was given, and as friends, they were allowed to pass on. To the next sentry's challenge the reply was given, "Sarsfield is the word, and Sarsfield is the man," and with these words the sentry was cut down. Confusion followed. The trumpet sounded to horse, but the horses were not at hand, and the soldiers were too dazed to make any effective resistance. Some

were killed as they slept; others opened their eyes only to close them in death; others made their escape under cover of darkness. The work of demolition was quickly done. The pontoons were smashed to atoms; the muzzles of the guns were filled with powder, and then buried in the earth; the ammunition waggons were all brought together; a train was laid; and guns and waggons were blown up with a noise which shook the surrounding hills, and was heard even in William's camp. Sarsfield and his men then rode away, taking with them 100 saddle horses and 400 draught horses which had belonged to the captured convoy.

There was urgent need to retire, for a Williamite relieving force was near. An Irish Protestant named Manus O'Brien had seen Sarsfield cross the Shannon, and hastened with the news to William's camp. His story was discredited, and an officer asked him some questions about a supposed prey of cattle, to which O'Brien answered that he was sorry to see a general officer more concerned about cattle than about the King's honour. Brought before William, his story was heeded more, and Sir John Lanier was ordered with 50 horse to march to Ballyneety at nine o'clock that night. But he did not start until two o'clock in the morning, and had gone but part of his journey, when he saw the whole sky lurid with the explosion, and heard the deafening noise; and, when he arrived at the scene of the disaster, he saw Sarsfield's rear guard in the distance. Too late to pursue them, he turned west to intercept Sarsfield's passage of the Shannon, but that skilful leader crossed higher up at Banagher, and arrived safely at Limerick. His splendid exploit filled the city with admiration, and encouraged them to continue the struggle. In the enemy's camp, on the contrary, there was the utmost disappointment, and everyone down to the private soldiers were depressed.[48]

But Limerick was not yet saved. Another siege train was brought from Waterford; the trenches were opened and were pushed gradually to the walls; and in a short time, 40 guns played upon the city and the city walls. Some of these guns threw red hot balls which set houses on fire; shells burst in the streets and killed people as they passed along, or threw down the houses, and

[48] Harris, pp. 286-7.

killed those within, as they sat at table, or as they slept; but though suffering and death were the result, there was no talk of surrender; and to the besiegers' incessant attack there came back a spirited, and not an ineffective reply. From the bastions and towers of the Irish town the guns inflicted loss, and from a battery across the river, in the English town, the advanced trenches were swept by an enfilading fire. Nevertheless the besiegers made progress. They captured two redoubts, which the Irish held, though not without heavy loss; they advanced their trenches, and played at short range with their guns on the portion of the wall near St. John's gate, and with such effect, that a breach of 36 feet wide was made; and on the 27th an attack in force was made.

The signal was the firing of three guns, which was given at three o'clock. Then 500 grenadiers advanced to the attack, leaping from their trenches to the counterscarp, which they captured, then drove the Irish back, nor stopped until they entered the breach. Boisseleau was not unprepared, and on a vacant space inside the breach had put up some earthworks, on which at the centre and at the sides he had placed guns; and, when the grenadiers entered, they were met, both in front and flank, by a deadly fire of canister and chain shot, which rapidly thinned their ranks. Others of them pursued the Irish through the streets, and were killed; a small remnant were hurled back again through the breach and sought the shelter of their trenches. But this was only the beginning, for behind the grenadiers were 10,000 others, the same who had fought at the Boyne, and were now again ready to fight, under the eyes of the King who had then led them to victory. Throwing hand grenades among the Irish, they entered the breach in force, and attacked with desperate valour, being met with valour as desperate as their own. The rattle of musketry, the booming of heavy guns, the spluttering of bursting shells, the shouts of the combatants, the groans of the dying, were deafening and incessant; and a column of smoke went up from the city and was wafted along for miles; until it finally settled on Keeper Hill. The regiments of Fitzjames, and Fitzgerald, and Boisseleau, defended the breach itself; some Ulstermen, armed only with stones, inflicted loss; the guns inside the trenches did deadly work; but the enemy still endeavoured to

THE CASTLE OF LIMERICK

AFTER W. H. BARTLETT

advance; and as those in the front ranks fell dead or wounded, others pressed into the vacant places, only to meet a similar doom. From the windows and roofs of the adjacent houses the citizens watched the terrible contest, and at last it seemed as if the enemy were gaining ground. But the Limerick citizens were a heroic race, and, rather than have these hated foreigners in possession of their city, they would be buried beneath its ruins. No time, however, was to be lost. As if by common impulse the spectators became combatants, and seizing whatever implement was next to hand, sticks, stones, household utensils, broken bottles, both men and women threw themselves on the enemy. The women rushed to the breach itself, and before their reckless valour, many a soldier fell; not a few of themselves also were found dead on that fatal spot. The fury of this assault was well seconded by Brigadier Talbot, who sallied from St. John's gate, and passing rapidly through the covered way, took the enemy in the rear. The confusion was completed by the fate of the Brandenburghers, half of whom lost their lives by an explosion at the Black Battery. The Williamites wavered; Boisseleau seized the opportunity and charged with all his reserves; and with deafening cheers the Irish drove the enemy back, through the breach and covered way, and beyond their trenches, even to the camp. For four hours they had fought, and had all but conquered; but nothing could prevail against such valour. Over 2,000 of their number were either killed or wounded. Some were brought back dead, some without a leg or an arm, some blinded with powder, and the Brandenburghers, blackened and scorched, were likened to furies. It was expected that William would renew the attack; but he had had enough of Limerick, and on the 30th he raised the siege. A few days later, after entrusting the Irish Government to Lords Justices, he set sail for England.[49]

At his departure from Limerick, the works he had raised outside the city were destroyed by the Irish, and, a few days later, a supply of ammunition was sent to Limerick from Galway. Lauzun and Tyrconnell then left for France with the whole French forces

[49] Harris, pp. 285-8; Story, pp. 37-9; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 60-8, 364-74; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 415-18; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 114-17, 260-6; Berwick's *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 355.

Lord Torrington succeeded Boisseleau as governor of Limerick; and Berwick got supreme authority, civil and military. In September he and Sarsfield crossed the Shannon and captured Birr, but had to relinquish it to superior forces and recross the Shannon.[50] About the same time the Williamites captured Kilmallock, and defeated a large force of Rapparees near Mallow, and, more important than either of these, Lord Churchill captured Cork. The city made but a poor defence, and when Passage was taken, and Shandon Castle, the garrison hastened to make terms. Churchill promised protection to the inhabitants and a promise of his Majesty's clemency to the soldiers; but he was either unwilling, or unable, to carry out the terms he had made; and of the garrison many were allowed to die of starvation, while the inhabitants were plundered without mercy.[51] At Kinsale the defences were better than at Cork, and the governor, Sir Edward Scott, was a man of great resolution and made a good defence. But, when attacked by a strong force with abundant siege appliances, and with such a capable general as Churchill at its head, the town could not hold out indefinitely, and the place was given up in the middle of October. The provisions and stores it contained became the property of the enemy, but the garrison of 1,200 were allowed to march to Limerick with arms and baggage. And thus all the strong places in Munster, except Limerick, were in Williamite hands. Winter was then approaching; further important operations could not be attempted; and both sides, having lost and gained during the year, retired to winter quarters, and waited for the opening of a new year and a new campaign.[52]

[50] Harris, p. 290.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 290-3; Story, pp. 44-5; Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 131-2; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 81-2, 388-92.

[52] Harris, pp.292-4; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 82-3, 392-5; Story, pp. 45-6; Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 111-12.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The End of the Struggle.

THE defence of Limerick was a disappointment, both to Lauzun and to Tyrconnell, and a condemnation of their own desertion and inactivity. The situation had become altered; the prospects of the Irish had ceased to be hopeless; and Sarsfield urged that, if the whole truth were known in France, the order for the French troops to leave Ireland would be countermanded.[1] But neither Lauzun nor Tyrconnell could be moved, and neither would await further instructions from France. Lauzun was sick of Ireland, old age had diminished the energy of Tyrconnell, and both felt the need of justifying their conduct in the eyes of King Louis and King James.[2] The accounts of the defence of Limerick had preceded them, and, in consequence, public opinion in France regarding Irish cowardice had changed; for the soldiers could not be all poltroons who had made so gallant a defence. Lauzun, however, was determined to end as he had begun, and, on his arrival in France, repeated the old story, like a lesson well learned; and he relied on being corroborated by Tyrconnell. But that nobleman did not wish to stand sponsor for what was unpopular. He tarried at Brest, detained by an illness real or pretended, and allowed his friend to go on to Paris and tell his story; and when

[1] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 67-8.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 380-1.

he arrived there himself, to the consternation of Lauzun, he blamed the French for having deserted Limerick in her hour of need, and maintained that, if they had stayed, much more might have been done.[3] Lauzun fell into disfavour and disgrace, and if James II. had not interceded on his behalf, he might probably have ended his days in the Bastile. Louvois rejoiced at his fall, and induced Louis to vote the Irish some money and arms, and had he not died within a few months, it is probable that much more substantial aid might have been sent.[4]

Meanwhile, Berwick was the Jacobite Viceroy, being assisted, in civil affairs by the council of twelve, and in military affairs by a like number of military officers. They were all selected by Tyrconnell who took care to have his own views strongly represented, and to leave his enemies little influence; and, though he feared to exclude Sarsfield from the military council, he put his name last on the list. From the beginning, there were disputes and divisions. The old Irish and the Anglo-Irish did not agree; the friends of Tyrconnell distrusted and hated the friends of Sarsfield; the descendants of those who had lost their estates by the Act of Settlement, and had them restored by James's Parliament, were anxious to be put in possession of them; the men of the New Interest, who had bought these same estates from Cromwellian planters, wanted to keep possession of them; and, while some wished to continue the war, others were anxious for peace. The wit of man seemed unable to reconcile these conflicting interests; the youth and inexeprience of Berwick—he was then but 20—was powerless to repress discord; and, while the time was spent in disputes and intrigues, Cork and Kinsale fell into the enemies' hands. Dissatisfied with Tyrconnell's arrangements, a meeting of the nobility, bishops, lawyers, and principal officers of the army was held at Limerick, at which it was proposed to depose the two councils of twelve; and, as a result of some negotiations with Berwick, it was at last agreed, by way of compromise, that the new military council should consist of all the general officers; and that the civil council should be composed of the twelve already in existence, in addition to two bishops

[3] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 71-2, 75-9.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 382-3.

and eight noblemen, selected from the four provinces.[5] It was further agreed, that if the war were to be continued with any prospect of success, aid should be at once sought from France, in men and arms; and that some French general should be invested with supreme command, whom all would obey, and in whose presence jealousies and rivalries would cease. As there was a want of confidence in Tyrconnell, special agents were chosen—Henry and Simon Luttrel, Colonels Purcell, Dr. Creagh, Bishop of Cork, and Brigadier Maxwell, a Scotch Catholic. This latter was given secret instructions by Berwick to have Henry Luttrel and Purcell detained in France, as incendiaries; and these two, suspecting Maxwell's mission, were with difficulty restrained by the Bishop of Cork from having him thrown over-board during the voyage.[6] Their mission was little to the taste of King James; nor would Purcell and Luttrel have been allowed to return to Ireland, had not James been warned that, if they were insulted, Berwick might suffer, and perhaps the Irish might hasten to make terms with William.[7]

Their demands were not all granted, but they were promised supplies, and a general of proved capacity to lead them. Meanwhile Tyrconnell arrived at Limerick, in January. He brought some money and provisions and arms, but no soldiers. He also brought from James a patent, creating Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan. Purcell and Luttrel had done their best to discredit Tyrconnell in France, and get the Irish government placed in other hands than his But James still clung to his old friend; and when Tyrconnell landed at Limerick, he at once liberated from prison Judge Daly and Lord Riverstown, both of whom had been discovered holding correspondence with the enemy.[8] He also published a proclamation inviting the Williamite soldiers to desert, offering money to each soldier who did so, and to those who wished to go abroad a free passage to France. His plan succeeded, and King James afterwards asserted that, if Tyrconnell had plenty of money,

[5] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 83-9.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 395-6; Berwick's *Memoirs I.*, pp. 361-2.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 396-7.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 407-8, 410-12, 102, 106.

one-third of William's army would have deserted.[9] From Limerick, Tyrconnell went to Galway; and it is charged against himself and his friends there that the time was spent in balls and banquets, while the soldiers were in want of bread, and the masses of the people were starving.[10]

During these months, the western boundary of the Williamite territory was marked by an irregular line, from Bantry Bay to Macroom and Mallow, north-east by Tipperary and Thurles, thence to Birr, again deflecting east to Mullingar, at which point a westerly turn is taken to Newtownforbes, thence north-east to the shores of Lough Erne, along which the line ran to Ballyshannon and the Sea.[11]

One advanced post they held in the extreme south-west at Castlehaven; a good part of Limerick and Tipperary was a debatable territory, which neither side could call its own; but all Kerry belonged to the Jacobites, who also held the whole line of the Shannon; were in strength at Limerick and Athlone, at Jamestown and Lanesborough, and held Ballymore as an outpost of Athlone. Farther south, near Roscrea, Anthony Carroll commanded a force which defied all the enemy's attacks; and Shelden had some regular troops at Tralee. The other posts east of the Shannon were held by the Rapparees.[12] In some instances they were soldiers who had fought abroad, in others dispossessed landholders, sometimes the successors and survivors of the old Tories, who hated the English, and robbed them when they could. They were not organised, or disciplined as regular troops, and in battle they lacked the steadiness, and precision of trained soldiers; but they knew the use of arms, were familiar with every inch of the country, its roads and passes and mountains, its rivers and woods, the best places to surprise an enemy, or lie hidden, when safety depended on being concealed. They were in sympathy with the people, as the people were with them, and were thus enabled to get the most reliable intelligence of the enemy's

[9] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 116, 418; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 435-7; Harris, p. 299; *Appendix* 54.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 415-16.
[11] Story, pp. 46-70.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 62.

movements. They avoided large parties, but swooping suddenly on smaller bodies of the enemy they seized their horses, and, during the winter of 1690, no less than 1,000 horses were thus taken from the English, and furnished for Sarsfield's cavalry.[13] Nor were they confined to those districts west of the enemy's line of garrisons, but were all over the country, in the King's and Queen's counties, in Westmeath and Cavan, in the hills of Wicklow, and in the Bog of Allen. [14]

They kept the Williamite garrisons fully occupied, and, when they were taken, got no mercy, but were instantly hanged. In this respect, the militia were more merciless than the regular troops, and the foreign troops, especially the Danes, were animated with a similar spirit. Nor did they confine their energies to the Rapparees, but, on one pretext or another, robbed and often killed peaceful citizens; and in their general conduct towards the natives manifested the same disposition to rob and plunder as had their ancestors eight centuries before.[15] The English soldiers were little better, and Colonel Wolsely had to complain of the conduct of his troops, declaring that they robbed all without distinction, to such an extent that he was ashamed to speak of it. He excused them only because there was a lack of provisions; if there had been no such want, he would have hanged them to the last man.[16] Other commanders, however, were differently disposed. Colonel Columbine burned all the corn from Nenagh to the Shannon; another force burned all the houses from Clonmel to Limerick; and the Lords Justices found it necessary to issue a special proclamation prohibiting officers and soldiers from plundering the goods of non-combatants. [17] Yet, in the following April, the inhabitants of Mullingar, on the pretext that they were in correspondence with the enemy, were turned out of the town, and had to lie by the ditches in the open air. [18] The war had already assumed the same ferocious character as the wars of Elizabeth; the people, innocent

[13] Story, pp. 50, 55: Todhunter's *Life of Sarsfield*, p. 132.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50, 62, 75-80.
[15] Harris, p. 295.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 300; Story, pp. 53-4.
[18] Story, p. 68.

and guilty alike, were being hunted down; and the country east of the Shannon was being rapidly turned into a desert.

Beyond the Shannon, also, Connaught was wasted, and the sufferings of the people were extreme. Berwick had appointed Sarsfield governor of the province; and the appointment was continued by Tyrconnell, and, without doubt, the difficulties of the position were great. Except the guns at Athlone, Sarsfield had no artillery. Nor had he gold or silver money. The brass money had become useless, and when foreign merchants discovered that no other was to be had, they either avoided the Connaught ports, or took cattle and sheep in payment at a miserable price. The civil authority was ill-defined, and often clashed with the military authority; the army storekeepers were corrupt and extortionate; the soldiers not in garrison had to live at free quarters; and, as if this was not burden enough for the people, vast numbers, hunted and persecuted, flocked from Ulster with their cattle.[19] The leaders were disunited and untrustworthy. In addition to Lord Riverstown and Judge Daly, it was also necessary to dismiss from his position Colonel MacDonnell, the governor of Galway, for holding correspondence with the enemy, and instead of these gentlemen being shot as traitors they were favoured by Tyrconnell.[20] At every step he thwarted Sarsfield. Wishing the war ended, he refused to believe that France would send a general or fresh supplies; and, when Sarsfield heard by letter that a general and supplies were on the way, he pronounced the letter to be a forgery.[21] His stupidity, his obstinacy, his insolence, his ambition for power which he was incapable of using, his jealousy of men of ability and honour, disgusted all who loved Ireland; Sarsfield declared that he was capable of spoiling the designs of the best Captain in Europe; even Berwick grew weary of him, and, throwing up his command at Limerick, retired to France.[22]

The confusion in Connaught was augmented by Bealdearg (red mouth) O'Donnell. He was of the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell, and

[19] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 96, 98.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-4.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.
[22] *Life of Sarsfield*, pp. 126, 132; Berwick's *Memoirs*, Vol. I., pp. 369 70.

claimed to be the heir of that illustrious house. Taking service in the Spanish army, he attained to the rank of Brigadier, and from Spain made his way to Limerick, when it was besieged. He soon gathered about him, principally from Ulster, a motley crowd of nearly 8,000 followers. There was a prophecy that an O'Donnell with a red mark on his cheek would conquer the English near Limerick; O'Donnell, who was so marked—hence the name—maintained that to him the prophecy referred; and this, added to the name he bore, helped to swell the number of his followers. At Limerick, he did nothing, but the defeat of the English there helped to augment his credit with the people, and with his followers he retired to Connaught. He had the shallowness, the arrogance, the presumption, the want of sincerity and patriotism which, have been the characteristics of too many Irish chiefs; acted as an independent prince; quarrelled with Colonel Gordon O'Neill, Sir Phelim's son, a man of real ability and patriotism; and disdained to accept his orders from Tyrconnell, the mere Viceroy of an English king.[23]

A province so wasted ought to have been easily conquered, yet the Williamites did little. Still they did not remain altogether inactive. Just as the new year opened, Ginkle marched west from his headquarters at Clonmel, while Tetteau, entered Kerry from Macroom. Little, however, was done. Tetteau defeated a small body of horse near Killarney, and captured Tralee, but he failed to take Ross Castle; Ginkle did nothing. Tetteau attributed his failure to lack of provisions and the hardships of the season; Ginkle to bad roads and bad weather; and Harris laments that an expedition from which so much was expected ended in failure. Kerry was still unsubdued; and a body of Rapparees broke through Ginkle's lines near Clonmel and set fire to some villages in the open day.[24] Kirke was then at Mullingar, Douglas at Belturbet, and both, as part of the general plan of campaign, were set in motion by Ginkle, just as he and Tetteau made their attack in Kerry. Kirke, aided by Lanier, was to attack Lanesborough, and Douglas to cross at Jamestown and menace Sligo. Of these intended movements

[23] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 125-8, 431-3; Harris, p. 289; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 267-72.

[24] Harris, pp. 298-9.

Sarsfield received early information. His headquarters were at Athlone; Clifford defended Lanesborough, and O'Hara Jamestown; and his plan was to cross the Shannon and attack Kirke in the rear, while Clifford faced him at the river. This skilful plan he was unable to carry out, as an urgent request for aid came from O'Hara, who was doubtful of holding his own against Douglas; and if the latter captured Jamestown, Sligo would be in danger. Sarsfield marched to his relief; but before he reached Jamestown, Douglas had attacked and been driven back; and on his way back to Athlone he learned that Kirke also had failed, and had retreated with heavy loss to Mullingar.[25] Meanwhile, Ginkle was busy preparing for the coming campaign. From Clonmel he had gone to Dublin, from Dublin to Mullingar, and back again to the city, so that he might personally superintend everything. In March, 1691, provisions came in abundance from England; in April clothes, arms, ammunition and recruits were daily arriving at Dublin; early in May, ships put in at Kinsale, with cannon balls, bombs and powder; and, by the end of the month, Ginkle had fixed his headquarters at Mullingar, at the head of a powerful army, with large supplies, and a train of artillery such as had never before been seen in Ireland.[26]

The outlook before the Jacobites was dark. The miserable pittance brought by Tyrconnell had long since been exhausted. Doled out at a penny a day for each man, it lasted but two months. The soldiers were living on horse-flesh, and had no drink but water; their clothes were scanty—boots and socks and trowsers, but no coats—their beds were of straw; in Galway they had to break up old ships for firewood; starvation caused many to desert; and if relief were not quickly forthcoming no enemy but hunger was required to destroy the whole army. It was the dark before the dawn; for, even while they were plunged in the deepest misery, and had almost abandoned hope, French ships sailed up the Shannon, bringing no men, it is true, but a good supply of provisions, arms and clothes, as well as the general who was to assume command.[27] His name

[25] Har is, p. 299; *Life of Sarsfield*, pp. 129-30; Hardy's *Calendar*—Letter from Lord Lisburn, 16th January, 1691.
[26] Story, pp. 58, 71-2, 77-80; Harris, 311-13.
[27] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 415-17.

was St. Ruth. In private life, his character was not above reproach, but he was a Catholic, and so zealous against the Huguenots that they called him the Hangman.[28] He knew the Irish soldiers already, for Mountcashel's regiment had fought under him in Savoy, and he had, therefore, no sympathy with Lauzun's stories of Irish cowardice.[29] Skill and experience in war he had, and his courage not even his enemies could gainsay. But these qualities were marred by great defects. He was harsh and imperious, arrogant and vain, and would neither brook contradiction from his subordinates nor accept their advice; and from the beginning, he disliked Sarsfield. By King James he was made supreme in military affairs; but that monarch still left Tyrconnell with a Viceroy's powers; nor could Tyrconnell be restrained from exercising his authority; and though sinking under infirmity and age, often attempted to interfere in military arrangements.[30] He had certainly worked hard to get an army together before St. Ruth arrived, and had urged King James to send supplies; but he had done nothing to furnish means of transport.[31] There were but six small vessels on the Shannon, and carts and waggons had to be taken forcibly, from the people to carry the provisions and stores to Athlone.[32] All this in spite of the utmost exertions of St. Ruth, caused a fatal delay, which enabled the enemy to take the field, and involved the fall of Ballymore. It was summoned to surrender on the 7th of June, Burke, its governor, being threatened with gettting no quarter if he did not yield, a threat which till the following day he defied But, when the defence works were battered into rubbish, and the whole place was open to Ginkle's guns, further resistance was vain, and the garrison surrendered. They were not, however, put to death, as Ginkle had threatened, but were sent prisoners

[28] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 134-5; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 278; St. Simon's *Memoirs*, Vol. II., pp. 135-6. St. Simon says, that he habitually beat his wife and was publicly reproved for doing so by King Louis.
[29] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 233-4.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 417.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-17.

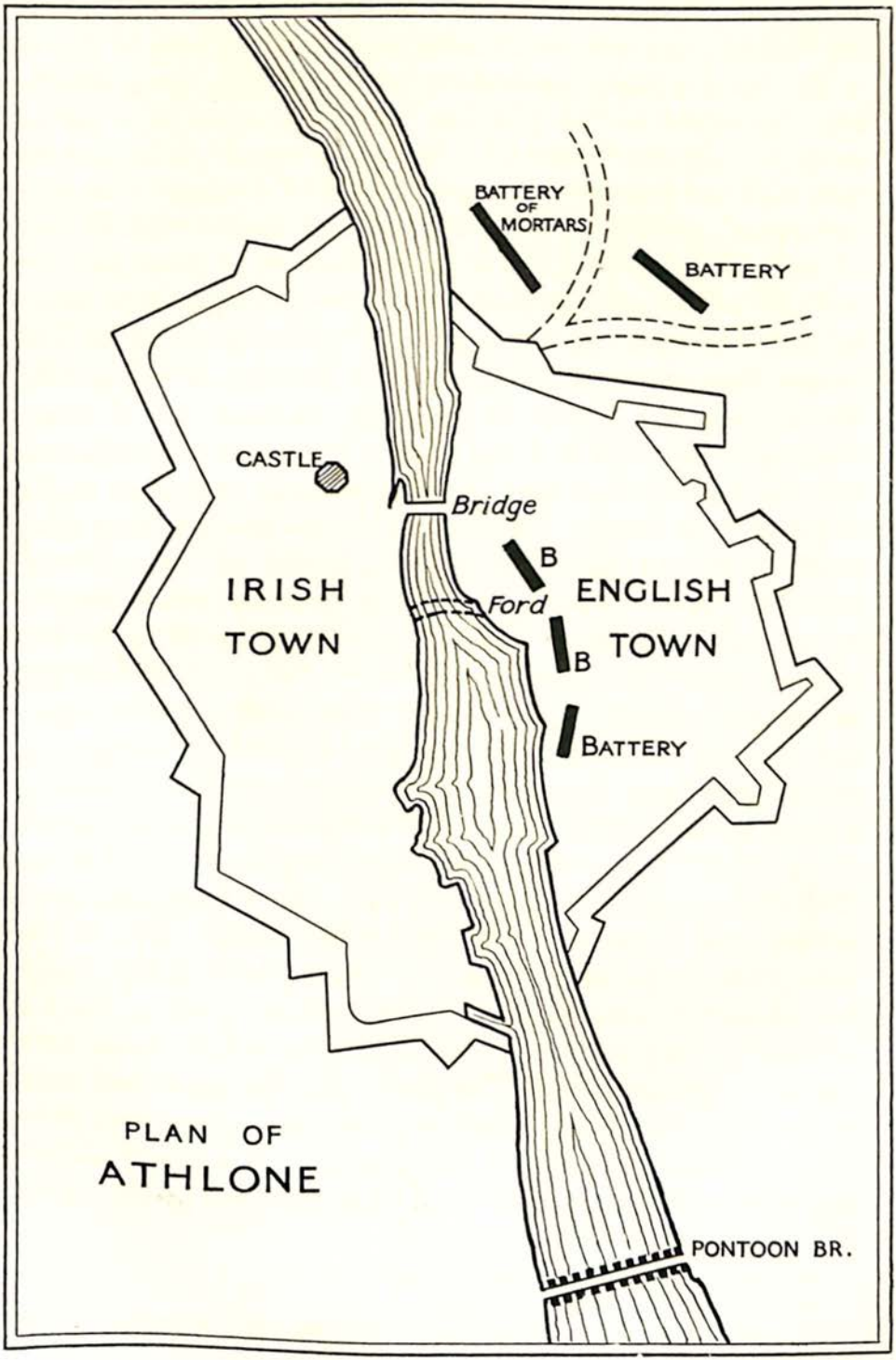
to Dublin; Ballymore was then fortified by the English; and, on the 19th of June, the whole army was before the walls of Athlone.[33]

In Athlone itself the defences of the English town, which had been destroyed in the previous year, were again repaired by the governor, Colonel Fitzgerald. He had garrisoned it with about 400 men, and had sent out some small parties of dragoons, who occupied the passes leading to the town, and for hours retarded Ginkle's advance. That General had with him about 25,000 men, well clothed, well provisioned, with arms and ammunition in abundance, with some mortars and nearly 50 heavy guns.[34] With him were the Duke of Wurtemberg and Count Nassau and De Ruvigny, as well as Talmash, Tetteau and La Melloniere; but greater than any of these was General Mackay. He had just crushed the revolt of the Highlanders, and, leaving Scotland safe for King William, was come to Ireland to gather fresh laurels. On the 19th of June the guns were placed in position, on the following day a battery of ten twenty-four pounders, placed at the north side of the town, had made a large breach in the walls. Mackay, with 4,000 men advanced to the breach; they were met with great resolution. But 4,000 against 400 was an unequal contest. The breach was entered; the Irish fell back fighting, and in diminished numbers reached the bridge. If the enemy could gain possession of this, the Irish town as well as the English town would be theirs. But the Irish soldiers had the courage of heroes, and while some were tearing down the arches of the bridge, the remainder set their faces to the foe. They knew that death was almost certain; but the town must be saved at all costs; and if they died, after all, it was for Ireland. Man after man fell; the bridge had become a slaughter-house; the dead lay piled in heaps; but, behind the rampart formed by the bodies of their fallen brothers, the survivors maintained the fight; nor did they yield until two arches had given way. Some swam across; others were drowned. In all half of the garrison had perished; but they had inflicted severe loss on the enemy, and they had effectually barred his progress across the Shannon.[35]

[33] Story, pp. 90-1; Harris, p. 318.

[34] *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 422.

[35] Story, pp. 94-8; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 419-20; O'Connor's *Military History*, pp. 136-7; *Life of Sarsfield*, pp. 139-41.



PLAN OF ATHLONE

[*To face page 443.*

Athlone was still in danger, and St. Ruth, informed of what had happened, hastened to its relief, arriving there on the 21st with his whole army, which numbered between 22,000 and 23,000 men. He proceeded to put the place in a state of defence, manned the strong castle near the bridge with cannon, and repaired or constructed breastworks along the river, with a line of entrenchments in the rear. He appointed Maxwell governor of the town, while himself, with the main body of his army, lay two miles to the rear of Athlone. The English, meanwhile, worked hard, cut entrenchments near the bridge, raised breastworks with embrasures for cannon and mortars, and opened a terrible fire on the Irish town. The eastern side of the castle, near the bridge, was soon battered down, the breastworks levelled, the trenches rendered all but untenable, the houses set on fire, the roads and passages filled with rubbish. But the Irish grimly held their ground, and the French officers declared they never saw more resolution, that the Irish were as brave as lions.[36] In face of such resistance, Ginkle's project of crossing the river lower down by a bridge of pontoons was abandoned; even the English trenches, near the river, were found untenable, and the English were compelled to fall back. Attention was then concentrated on the broken arches of the bridge, and, on the night of the 27th, the English laid planks across. The Irish town was in great danger while these planks remained. From the Irish ranks eleven men volunteered to cut them down; and encasing themselves in complete armour, they grasped saws and axes, and rushed on the bridge. On both sides of the river there was silence—the silence of admiration and wonder. But the English quickly recovering from their suprise, opened fire, and the Irish end of the bridge was soon swept with shot and shell. The heavy guns boomed; the musket balls fell like hail; hand grenades were thrown; and, one after another, the gallant Irish fell at their posts, mangled by bursting shells, riddled with bullets, but every man with his face to the foe. Part of the work was done, but it was not complete, and the English, on their side, raised a mocking and exultant cheer. But heroism was not yet exhausted. Eleven others, clad in armour, grasped saw and axe, and rushed upon the bridge. Again the guns

[36] *Rawdon Papers*, pp. 346-8.

of the enemy spoke; man after man fell on those timbers which were slippery with their kinsmen's blood; but, if the work of death proceeded rapidly, so also did the work of destruction; the last plank was at length torn up and flung into the river; and of that gallant band only two came back alive to their comrades. The names of these heroes are forgotten. No monument has been raised to their memory in the town which their valour saved; the historian passes lightly over their achievements, and the bard has left their deeds unsung, and a nation, too often careless of its history and its heroes, forgets the men who held the bridge of Athlone, though it remembers those who defended Thermopylae. [37]

Ginkle began to despair, and, on the 30th, he called a council of officers, with whom he consulted about raising the siege. Forage was running short, and to remain in their present position was impossible. To retire, however, was not without its dangers, for the Irish, passing the Shannon, would certainly harass them as they fell back. There was also danger in making a further effort to pass the river; but Wurtemburg and Mackay insisted that no brave action could be attempted without hazard, and the council adopted their views. A few days before, three Danes, under sentence of death, were promised pardon if they entered the river, and ascertained if it was fordable. [38] They found it was, a little south of the bridge; and at this point the passage was to be attempted on the evening of the 30th, just as the clock tolled the hour of six.

Union and discipline always so characteristic of English soldiers were unfortunately not to be found on the Irish side. Unwilling to offend Tyrconnell, King James had made St. Ruth nominally subject to him, but he had promised to write secretly to Tyrconnell not to interfere. If he had written, Tyrconnell disregarded his request, for he appeared in the camp at Athlone, giving orders and making appointments. Threatened at last with violence from the soldiers, he withdrew sullenly to Limerick. But the mischief was already done. St. Ruth's authority was considered dubious; obedience to his orders was reluctantly rendered,

[37] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 423-4; Story, pp. 102-3; O'Connor, pp. 141-2.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 427, *Note*; Hardy's *Calendar*, p. 429.

and in some cases not given at all; and when he ordered General D'Usson to throw down the western wall of the town, so that the passage between the camp and town would be open, that officer remarked that his business was to defend fortifications, not to destroy them. With none of his leading officers did St. Ruth agree. He quarrelled with Sarsfield; and against D'Usson's advice he sent, on the 30th of June, two newly enlisted regiments to man the trenches, for the purpose of having them seasoned to such work. He scoffed at the notion that the English would renew the attack, declaring that if Ginkle attempted such, he would deserve to be hanged, and he himself would deserve hanging if Ginkle succeeded. Finally when Maxwell sent him a message that the enemy were active, evidently meditating some fresh move, St. Ruth replied that if Maxwell was afraid, he would send another to take his place.[39]

A little before the English resolved to make their attack, two officers deserted from the Irish, and, swimming the river, told Ginkle that now was his time; that the Irish were off their guard, thinking that the siege was about being raised General Mackay was in command of the attacking party of 2,000 men. The batteries were turned on the Irish defences, so as to disconcert them; and, after the signal was given, which was the tolling of the church bell, the whole force plunged into the river. Having fired one volley the Irish fled, and the enemy were soon masters of the town. Maxwell was taken prisoner; the castle near the bridge, with its garrison, surrendered; planks were then laid across the broken arches, and the whole army crossed. Among the dead was Colonel Grace. Twelve months before, he had baffled General Douglas; to the last he had fought to save Athlone; and meeting a hero's death, he now lay buried beneath its ruins.[40]

When informed that the attack was being made, St. Ruth told Sarsfield it could not be true. He refused at first to send reinforcements, and, when he did send them, he found the western wall, which should have been demolished, manned by the enemy. That night,

[39] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 123-4, 428-30.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30; Story, pp. 106-10; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 132-4.

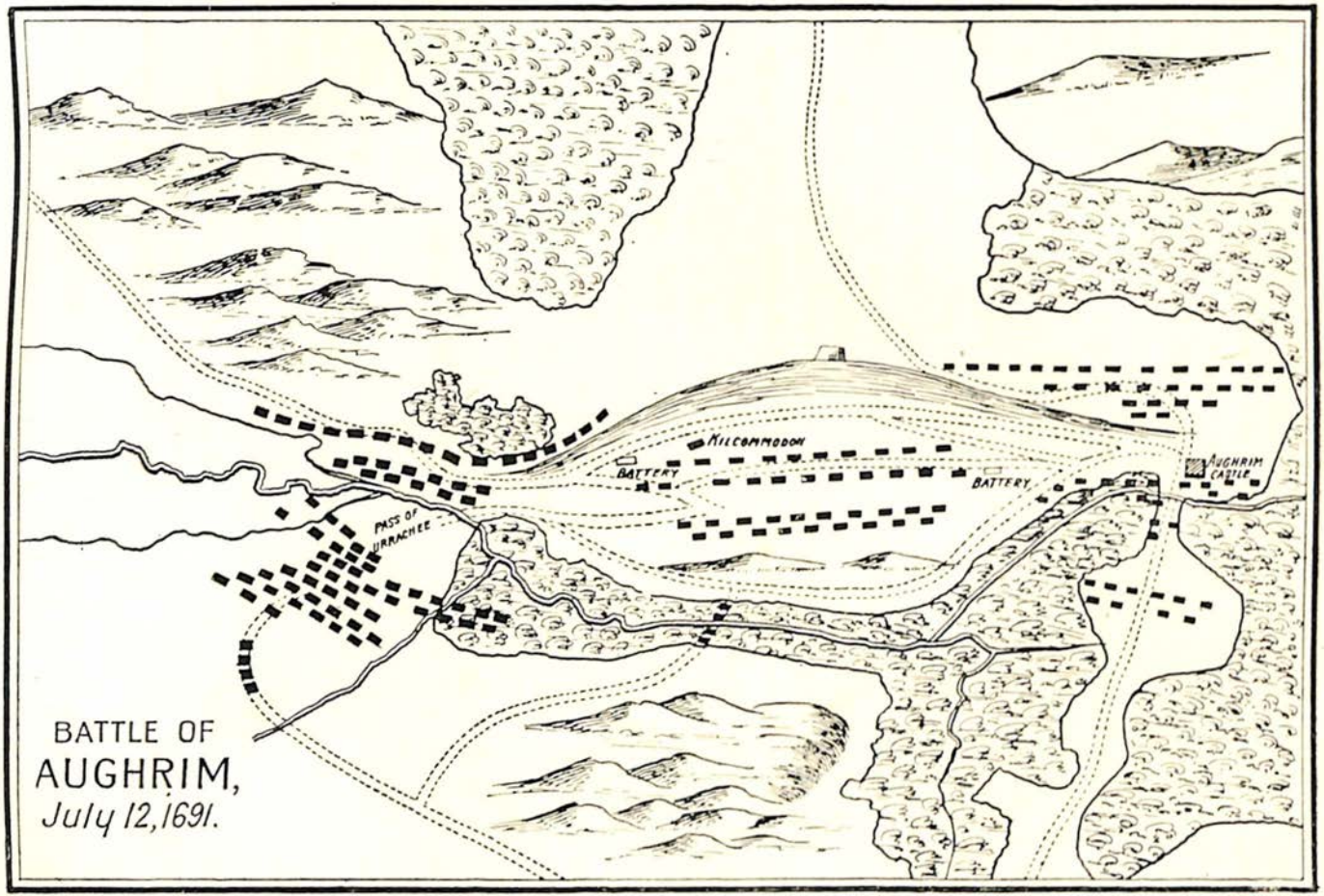
bitterly lamenting his folly, he broke up his camp and retired to Ballinasloe. Some of his officers, Sarsfield among them, advised him to avoid a pitched battle; suggesting that it was better to prolong the war until the autumn rains came to decimate the enemy with hardships and disease; or that Ginkle might be blockaded in Athlone. But St. Ruth rejected these councils. He knew that the story of his failure would be quickly conveyed to France by Tyrconnell, who would accentuate his negligence and folly; the result would be the disfavour of the Grand Monarch, perhaps his recall. He resolved, therefore, to give battle, hoping to retrieve his error by a great victory; at the worst, he could perish on the battle-field, and even this would be better than to return to France a discredited and beaten man.[41] His conduct towards the army underwent a complete change. His contempt for the officers was replaced by kindness and familiarity, his harshness to the soldiers by caresses, until, between the commander and the whole army, the best understanding prevailed. His next care was to select a suitable battle-ground, and leaving the fords of the Suck undefended, he proceeded three miles from Ballinsaloe, and pitched his camp on Kilcommodon Hill.

It was an admirable selection. In front was a bog through which a little stream flowed, and from which the hill rose gradually to a height of 400 feet, extending north and south a distance of nearly two miles. To pass over the bog was impossible for cavalry, and difficult even for infantry. At the north end of the hill was the castle of Aughrim, which was approached by a narrow pass between two bogs, one of which faced the hill, while another of greater extent lay to the north. Beyond the hill, to the south, was the Pass of Urrachree, an open, firm piece of ground, skirted on both sides by low hills. St. Ruth's left rested on the castle of Aughrim, his right at Urrachree, his centre on Kilcommodon Hill. The sloping space between the bog and the summit of the hill, which extended for nearly half a mile, was divided into fields surrounded by hedges, through which he had cut passages for his cavalry.[42]

Ginkle, leaving a garrison at Athlone, followed his opponents,

[41] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 433-4; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 454-5; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 282-3.

[42] Story, pp. 121-2; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 439-41.



[To face page 447.

and, on the 11th of July, arrived with his whole army near Aughrim. His experienced eye noted the strength of the position, and the skill with which it was selected; and against such troops as those who fought at Athlone, placed so favourably, the prospects of victory were not bright. Hesitating whether to attack or not, he called a council of war. As at Athlone, the more energetic of the leaders, such as Mackay and Talmash, carried the day, and it was resolved to give battle on the following morning.

That eventful day, the 12th of July, 1691, at last dawned. A fog brooded over the valley, the sun was slow in dissipating the mist and haze, nor was it until after twelve o'clock that the fog finally lifted, and that Ginkle could see the enemy clearly. It was Sunday. All the morning the priests in the Irish camp were kept busy. Masses were said, the Sacraments administered, prayers offered up for victory; sermons were preached, in which the soldiers were exhorted, in the name of God, to stand firm for their altars and their homes. It was the last great stand; the old race was driven to bay. Defeat would mean more confiscations, more penal laws, churches closed, education denied, the priest and schoolmaster outlawed, the bard proscribed; it would mean poverty, and slavery, and exile. On the other hand, victory would mean security of their property, possession of the lands they held, recovery of those they had lost, the right to live in peace in their own country, to worship at their own altars, to gather round their own priests and hear the gospel of salvation from their lips, and be consoled by them in their dying hour. It would revenge the Boyne and retrieve the error of Athlone. It would heal the wounds of their beloved Erin, lift up her drooping head, put courage into her heart, bring life and colour to her faded cheek, and lustre to those eyes that had been dimmed by so many tears. With such hopes and fears as these the soldiers prepared themselves for battle.

The elaborate speech, put into the mouth of St. Ruth by Story, we may pass by with a smile.[43] He may indeed have reminded his troops that they were not mercenaries, like so many of Ginkle's men; that they were fighting for their lives and liberties and estates, for their country, their religion, their wives

[43] Story, pp. 123-5.

and children. But he could hardly promise to have them canonised if only they fought well, nor would he speak of James as the most pious of Christian Kings.[44] It is, at least, certain that he inspired his men with confidence, and that he was confident himself. In numbers he was about equal to his enemy, in guns he was much inferior, having only ten as against Ginkle's twenty-four, in position he had greatly the advantage. Long before 12 o'clock his troops had taken up their allotted positions. His right wing was under de Tesse, who was second in command, and who had four or five guns; the left was under Shelden, supported by Henry Luttrell, Purcell and Parker; two guns were placed at the castle of Aughrim, which was held by Colonel Burke with a regiment of foot. The infantry at the centre were under Dorrington and Hamilton, the cavalry under Galmoy. A battery of three guns was placed on the slope of the hill at the left centre, and swept the bog in front and the narrow pass leading to Aughrim Castle on the left. Behind the hill was Sarsfield in charge of the cavalry reserves, with strict orders to remain there. Instead of being second in command, he was thus relegated to a subordinate position; and on that eventful day the greatest soldier of the Irish race was thus condemned to inglorious inactivity. His services to Ireland ought to have saved him from such a humiliation; but St. Ruth was jealous of him, and would give him no share in the victory he expected to gain. Such treatment must have been bitterly resented by the Irish then, as it has been ever since; it has cast a shade over the fame of St. Ruth; and in the disaster which befel him no tears were shed for himself.

On his side Ginkle also had made his dispositions. The Duke of Wurtemburg was second in command. The left was under Tetteau and La Melloniere, with Count Nassau and the Prince of Hesse, and here were the Danes, and the Dutch, and the French Huguenots; the cavalry at the extreme left was under La Forest and Eppinger and Portland. At the right centre was Mackay, aided by Talmash, the cavalry being under Scravemore and de Ruvigny. Near the bog, at the centre, were two batteries; two more were on the extreme right, and were advanced towards a

[44] *Grammont's Memoirs* sufficiently contradicts this statement.

point where the pass to Aughrim widened, just before it narrowed again at the castle. The contest began at Urrachree, where a few Danes were sent to drive back the Irish, who had advanced to the little stream, and even crossed it; but, instead of driving them back, they were driven back themselves. Assistance was brought up on each side, and what was at first but an affair of outposts assumed the dimensions of a small battle. Ultimately both parties held their original ground. The English were then driven off, the Irish did not advance, and for a time fighting ceased. Ginkle was still doubtful of giving battle, and from three to half past four a council of war was held. It was decided to attack, and at five o'clock the battle began. Ginkle himself led the attack towards Urrachree. At first the Danes advanced to outflank the Irish, which made it necessary for the latter to extend their lines; and then the Huguenots, with conspicuous gallantry, attacked the hedges near the Pass. As they advanced, the Irish fell back, as they had been ordered; from behind the hedges a destructive flanking fire was opened on the Frenchmen; and when they were thrown into disorder, the Irish horse dashed among them and drove them back into the bog. To support them Ginkle drew upon his right, and again the Huguenots advanced, but again, and yet again, they were driven headlong into the bog, nor were the troops of horse which Ginkle brought to their support able to turn the tide of battle.

To hold his ground against this strong attack at Urrachree, St. Ruth sent support from his force near Aughrim, and Mackay, noting the weakened left and left centre, sent his infantry across the bog. It was then half past six.[45] Those in the centre, 3,000 strong, advanced up to their waists in mud and water under cover of the fire of their batteries. The Irish fell back from field to field up the hill, and thus enticed the enemy to its summit, then being reinforced, they faced about; those behind the hedges opened fire on the English, and though the latter fought with the courage and steadiness of veteran troops, they were compelled to fall back. Into their ranks the Irish cavalry dashed; and with great slaughter, and the loss of many of their officers, the English were driven into the bog. Nearer to Aughrim, Mackay himself led a body of

[45] *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 445.

infantry, but the resistance they met with was equally obstinate; and, though he brought up regiment after regiment, each time they were driven back.

In one direction only did the English meet with even temporary success. Two regiments effected a lodgment among some old walls and hedges, near Aughrim Castle. It seems that Colonel Burke had got an insufficient supply of bullets, and had to use the buttons from the soldiers' coats, as well as chopped ramrods.[46] The Irish cavalry, however, came to his assistance, and, sweeping round the castle, drove back the English. The fighting had now continued for hours. One last attack Mackay determined to make, and, at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, he slowly and painfully advanced through the pass leading to Aughrim, where only one or two horsemen could ride abreast. St. Ruth thought it a pity for such brave men to so waste their lives; their failure, he thought, was certain, as his own victory was assured. Sarsfield's turn had come. To order up his reserve of cavalry and hurl it against Mackay could have had but one result, for the valour so long restrained and now let loose, and under such a commander, would have been irresistible. But it was not to be. Even then St. Ruth would not lay aside his personal jealousy, nor allow Sarsfield any share in the battle, and the order he sent him was to send up half his cavalry, but to remain with the other half himself. The sun was then sinking in the west, and hill and valley, and castle were reddened with his dying beams. St. Ruth determined to head the charge in person. He was in high spirits, telling his troops that the enemy were already beaten; he was merely going to complete their defeat. As he rode down the hill he turned to one of his gunners to give an order, and as he did so, a cannon ball from the enemy's battery struck him dead. His headless body rolled from his horse and was carried to the rear, covered with a trooper's cloak, lest the disaster might be known. But the truth leaked out, and paralysis seized the leaders. No message was sent to Sarsfield. Mackay advanced past Aughrim Castle. Galmoy endeavoured to make a stand against him, but was not supported by the Irish cavalry, and the English

[46] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 450-1.

cavalry, under de Ruvigny, came on with irresistible force.[47] The whole left wing of the Irish was driven in, and the victors turned upon the centre, which, with Ginkle in front and Mackay in flank, was quickly overwhelmed. As the shades of night fell, Sarsfield saw with dismay his comrades come running down the hill, and all that was left for him was to cover their retreat. Repeatedly he dashed in among the pursuing English and drove them back, and that even a remnant of the Irish was saved was largely owing to his efforts. Night providentially intervened, and numbers found refuge in the neighbouring bog.[48]

Yet the slaughter was great. The English were enraged at their loss, which fell little short of 2,000, but still more when they heard that the Irish had killed the prisoners taken by them. In consequence, except in rare instances, no quarter was given. Lord Dorrington and some other prisoners were spared, but Lord Galway was killed, after being promised quarter, and at least 5,000 perished on the field or in the pursuit.[49] Three days after the battle, Story went over the ground, and, in some small enclosures he saw 150 Irish dead, in others 120; and as he looked around from the summit of a hill, and saw scattered the naked bodies of the slain, he thought it looked like a great flock of sheep.[50]

Through Loughrea Ginkle marched to Galway, where he arrived on the 19th, and summoned the town. Lord Dillon was governor, D'Usson in military command, and Ginkle was answered that the place would be defended to the last. But this brave resolution was not adhered to, and on the 21st, articles of surrender were signed, the citizens being confirmed in their estates, and allowed the private exercise of their religion, while the garrison were allowed to march to Limerick, taking with them six of their heavy guns.[51] About the same time, Carroll was defeated near Nenagh, and in September O'Regan surrendered Sligo. He had been

[47] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 452-3.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3, 442-61; Story, pp. 123-37.
[49] Story, pp. 138-41; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp., 454-7; Hardy's *Calendar*—Ginkle to the King. He declares that the fight "was very obstinate," pp. 444-5.
[50] Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 284-6; Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 456-8.
[51] Story, pp. 151-74; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 137-41, 462-6.

expecting aid from Bealdearg O'Donnell; but that worthless chief was negotiating with the English, first for a peerage, which was refused, and then for a pension, which he got; and when his duped followers saw him help the English to attack Sligo, they realised that they had been led by a traitor, rather than by a patriot. [52]

For the second time during the war the strength of the Irish was gathered at Limerick. In desperation, some of the Irish soldiers, after Aughrim, became Rapparees; some deserted to the enemy; some went back to their fields and laid the sword finally aside; the remainder followed Sarsfield to Limerick. De Tesse became governor of the city; Sarsfield commanded the cavalry, with Shelden his second in command. Some of the officers wished to surrender; but Sarsfield and the bishops were for fighting it out; and they were backed up by Tyrconnell, who had just heard that France was sending fresh supplies. [53] It was therefore resolved to defend the city, a resolution little expected by Ginkle. In May, 1691, King William wanted to have peace on any terms; but the Lords Justices preferred waiting for some success in the war; and on the 7th of July they issued a proclamation, offering to those who submitted a free pardon, security in their estates, freedom from religious persecution, and a further relaxation of the penal laws. [54] Ginkle renewed this offer, but it was rejected, even after the death of Tyrconnell, who died at Limerick, on the 13th of August; and so he had to bring up his guns and turn them on the city. By the 9th of September there was a large breach in the wall of the English town, though Ginkle was afraid to enter. [55] A week later he crossed the Shannon at St. Thomas's Island, without serious opposition; and, a few days later still, he captured Thomond Bridge, and had the city effectually surrounded. [56]

Confronted on every side by disaster and treachery, Sarsfield at length lost heart. A constant stream of deserters was passing

[52] Story, pp. 180-3; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 140-3, 466-70; Hardy's *Calendar*, 475, 528.
[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 143-4, 470-1.
[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20, 184; Hardy's *Calendar*, pp. 394-6.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 188-216.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17; *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 149, 480-2.

over to the enemy;[57] there was no doubt that it was Clifford's treachery which had enabled Ginkle to cross the Shannon;[58] Henry Luttrell was now found to be corresponding with the English;[59] the French, it seemed, would never come; finally the loss of Thomond Bridge was a crushing blow. Negotiations were opened on the 24th of September, and were long and tedious, and not until the 3rd of October were articles of agreement signed. By that time the Lords Justices had arrived from Dublin, and the Articles, civil and military, were signed in Ginkle's tent.[60] By the Civil Articles, which were entered into on behalf of the Irish inhabitants of the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Cork, Kerry, Sligo and Mayo, and which were signed by the Lords Justices, Porter and Coningsby, and by Ginkle, it was stipulated that the Catholics of the Kingdom should enjoy such privileges as were consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.; and that the King should endeavour to obtain for them even more generous terms from Parliament, so that they should not be disturbed on account of their religion. All inhabitants of Limerick, and all garrisons who had not yet submitted, as well as all officers and soldiers, not prisoners of war, holding King James's commission in the counties named; all absent merchants returning to the country within eight months, if they submitted, were to be restored to the estates they had held in the reign of Charles II., and could exercise all trades and professions as in the reign of James II., on taking the Oath of Allegiance; and to all Catholics it was this oath which was to be administered, and no other.[61] By the Military Articles, all persons who wished to leave Ireland might do so, and bring their families and property with them, but were not to settle in England or Scotland. All officers and soldiers might enter the French service, and would be sent free to France in English transports. These vessels were to sail from Cork, and orders were given to have

[57] Story, pp. 173, 186-8.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 216. "He seemed not very forward in the matter," says Story.
[59] Clarke, Vol. II., pp. 460-1.
[60] Story, pp. 228-32, 239-56.
[61] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 488-9.

them ready. Then the English marched into Limerick, and occupied the Irish town, while the Irish were confined to the English town. Two days later, the long-expected French ships put in at Dingle Bay, bringing supplies and men. Had they come earlier, they might have given a different ending to the campaign.[62]

The English and Irish soldiers, meanwhile, became the best of friends, and fought their battles over again. But between Sarsfield and Ginkle the relations were not so cordial. The former wanted the Irish troops to go to France, the latter did not; and he offered them employment in William's army, or the option of enjoying peacefully their property at home.[63] These difficulties were soon got over, the soldiers were left free to make their own selection, and when the day came for them to do so, 2,000 returned home, 12,000 followed Sarsfield, and only 1,000 took service in the English army.[64] The first half of those going to France soon left Cork, a further portion went in the French ships. Early in November the last contingent left for Cork, for by that time the transports which carried away the first contingent had returned, and were again ready to put to sea. But all those who left Limerick did not arrive at Cork. Many deserted on the way—some because unwilling to leave Ireland, others because they trusted English promises, others because of the accounts that had come from France of the ill-treatment of their comrades there.[65]

Many more of the Irish might have gone home, or stayed there when they went, but that they had been robbed and insulted; and from all parts of Ireland complaints were pouring in to the Lords Justices as to the ill-treatment of those who had submitted.[66] Many women and children accompanied the soldiers to Cork intending to go to France. When they reached the water's edge, the men were first taken on board. Perhaps the women feared that they were about being left behind, or, perhaps, some endeavoured to embark who had no claims to be taken. In their eagerness to go

[62] Story, pp. 271-3; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 298-308.
[63] *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 491.
[64] Story, pp. 258-66.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 290-1.
[66] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 491-3.

many of them rushed into the water and seized hold of the open boats, as they were going out to the larger vessels. Some of these, losing their hold, were drowned, while others had their fingers cut off by the seamen, and were lost in sight of their relatives.[67] And thus did the last batch of exiles leave Ireland, their ears filled with the shrieks of drowning women, and the piteous wails of sorrow from the shore. In the month of March, following, a Royal Proclamation declared that the war was ended.[68] But, long before that date, all resistance had ceased; the Rapparees had become peaceful citizens, and, so early as November, 1691, Story was able to say that a man might travel alone through the whole country with as much safety as through any part of England.[69] At last the struggle was ended: the Dutchman had triumphed; Protestant ascendency was firmly established; and the subjugation of the old race was complete.

[67] *Macariæ Excidium*, pp. 494-5.
[68] Story, 302.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Penal Laws.

At the accession of Queen Elizabeth all Ireland was Catholic; and the Parliament which met at Dublin in 1560, though it little represented the nation at large, was but ill-disposed to pass the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; nor was it except through a trick of the Speaker that these Acts were passed into law. He declared that Parliament would not sit on a certain day, and, meanwhile, he sent summonses to a few members who were special friends of the Government. These assembled secretly on the very day Parliament was not to sit, and, assuming the powers of the whole assembly, passed the required enactments. The absent members, when next they attended, protested loudly against such fraud, and declared that such enactments were null and void. But the Viceroy, Sussex, solemnly assured them that neither Act would be enforced, and, on this understanding, the assent of all the members was obtained.[1] After a short session of three weeks this Parliament was dissolved by Sussex, "by reason of its aversion to the Protestant religion;" and it need hardly be added that the promise given by the Viceroy was soon forgotten. Like St. Leger, Sussex had been in turn both a Protestant and a Catholic, and now embraced the religion of his Queen. As he had carried out Queen Mary's orders to restore

[1] Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 234; *Cambrensis Eversus*, Vol. III., pp. 10-23; *Our Martyrs*, pp. 9-11; Monk-Mason's *Parliaments in Ireland—Introduction*, p. 103.

Catholicism in Ireland, he now undertook to carry out Elizabeth's orders: "to set up the worship of God in Ireland as it was in England." Like most of the officials of these days, if asked how he continued to keep office under so many changes of government, he might have replied, as did the Lord Treasurer Paulett, that he was made of the pliable willow rather than of the stubborn oak.[2] His successors in office were of the same pliant material. They carefully carried out the Queen's orders, studied her caprices, anticipated her wishes, were more inclined to be severe than to be tolerant; and such was the rigour with which they carried out the laws, that even Elizabeth once declared that she feared the reproach which Bato made to Tiberius—that he had committed his flocks, not to shepherds, but to wolves.[3]

Against both laity and clergy their persecuting spirit was shown; but it was the clergy especially who were singled out for destruction, and for them nothing was too severe, and no torture left untried. In some cases a form of trial was gone through; in other cases they were put to death by martial law, perhaps on mere suspicion of being concerned in some conspiracy, or because they refused to reveal secrets which they were supposed to know. Nor do the cases of O'Hurley and O'Hely stand alone for cruelty and barbarity, for other cases there were, which excite equal horror. At Armagh, two friars were stripped of their habits and publicly scourged to death; at Youghal, a Franciscan was hanged head downwards; three members of the same Order were hanged at Down, another at Limerick, another at Youghal. A parish priest was hanged in his church at Coleraine, and the same fate befel a priest at Limerick; while the master of a vessel was hanged for bringing a priest from Belgium. Gibbon, Archbishop of Cashel, Tanner, Bishop of Cork, and Hurley, Dean of Limerick, died in prison, while Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, after a long imprisonment, was poisoned in the Tower of London.[4] Two Franciscans were taken and thrown into the sea, and another was trampled to death by horses. Three laymen, at Smerwick, had

[2] Olden's *Church of Ireland*, p. 322.
[3] Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 101, Note.
[4] *Spicilegium Ossoriense.*

their legs and arms broken with hammers, and then were hanged, and similar torture was inflicted on the Abbot of Boyle. Three Franciscans, at Abbeyleix, were first beaten with sticks, then scourged with whips until the blood came, and finally were hanged. One Roche was taken to London and flogged publicly through the streets, and then tortured in prison until he died; another, after being flogged, had salt and vinegar rubbed into his wounds, and then was placed on the rack and tortured to death. And Collins, a priest at Cork, was first tortured, then hanged, and whilst he yet breathed, his heart was cut out and held up, the soldiers around crying out in exultation "Long live the Queen." [5]

Persecution does not generate conviction, and these cruelties did not succeed in winning the people from their faith. With admirable courage the bishops and priests clung to their posts; they felt the confidence with which the soldiers of the Lord should be inspired; and, when one was struck down, another was ready to take the place of his fallen brother. The religious orders did notable service, and their devotion and zeal nothing could surpass. The Jesuits were especially active; the Dominicans and Cistercians also freely shed their blood; but most of all, the sons of St. Francis, who were found in every position of danger, whom no terrors could appal, and who, in greater numbers than any other Order, endured suffering, and tortures, and death. A Jesuit, David Wolf, was sent to Ireland by the Pope in 1560, as Apostolic Nuncio; and when he died, in 1578, after many hardships and trials, another member of the same Order was sent from Rome to fill his place, and with equally ample powers.[6] Against such zeal and perseverance the selfishness and greed of the Reforming ministers were ill-calculated to succeed, and Sidney had to confess, in 1575, that no progress was being made; Dr. Loftus of Dublin declared fifteen years later, that the people were still in revolt against the new doctrines; and Spenser had to tell an equally mournful tale.[7] And, when Elizabeth died

[5] *Our Martyrs*, pp. 90-219.
[6] Moran's *Archbishops*, pp. 82-3.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 153; Mant pp. 298-9, 323-8; Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 254.

in 1603, with a reputation for cruelty which Nero might have envied, the Irish people, exclusively Catholic, rejoiced that the persecutor of their faith was gone; and the hope was universal that, under a Stuart king, their deliverance from persecution had come.

A royal proclamation, in 1606, and two others in 1614 and 1635, commanding all bishops and priests to quit the kingdom under pain of death, and the martyrdom of O'Devanny, Bishop of Derry, and many others, showed how futile were these hopes.[8] At the close of James's reign there was a period of toleration; and the Archbishop of Dublin, writing to Rome, reports that the Church was then manned by four archbishops, five bishops, vicars in every diocese, and parish priests in every district, and to these were subject 800 secular priests. In addition, there were 40 Jesuits, a few Cistercians, 20 Dominicans, a few Augustinians and Capuchins, and 200 Franciscans, whom he specially extols, "because they never suffered themselves to become extinct in the kingdom, and were the only religious who maintained the fight in some districts." [9]

If the advice of Usher had been taken, there would have been no toleration of Catholics during the reign of Charles I.;[10] but, happily, his advice was rejected, and until the war broke out between the Parliament and the king, there were no fresh penal laws; and those in existence were mildly enforced. For nearly twenty years the Catholics were but little disturbed on account of their religion. But, with the advent of the Puritans to power, there was a disastrous change. Fighting for religious liberty themselves, they would allow no such liberty to others. They hated episcopacy in any form, but they hated Catholicism most of all. It was an abomination which could not be endured, and those who professed it should be placed outside the law. The horrors of 1641 still further inflamed their resentment. The lies of Temple [11] and others to some extent were believed. The

[8] *Our Martyrs*, pp. 229-62.
[9] Moran, p. 290.
[10] Mant, Vol. I., p. 408.
[11] *The Irish Rebellion.*

Irish Catholics were regarded as rebels and murderers, whose crimes must be wiped out in blood; and Coote, and Broghill, and Cromwell and their friends, soon showed that these were no idle threats. Cromwell would allow no Mass, and whoever received mercy from him, the priests received none. His friend Inchiquin killed 20 priests and 3,000 laity at Cashel, and, at the taking of Drogheda and Wexford, no priests were spared. When Broghill captured the Bishop of Ross he first cut off his hands and feet, and then hanged him; a Dominican arrested at Jamestown had his fingers and toes cut off, and then was put to death; a Franciscan, at Clonmel, was put first on the rack, after which his hands and feet were burned off, and finally, he was hanged; the Parish priest of Arklow was tied to a horse's tail, which was urged furiously on, and thus was dragged along the road to Gorey, where he was hanged;[12] and the numbers who were cut down by the common soldiers, or who died in prison, or were shipped as slaves to Barbadoes, will never be known. An edict was issued, in 1653, commanding all priests to leave the kingdom, and it was repeatedly published and rigorously enforced.[13] On the head of a priest the same price was put as on the head of a wolf. Those who informed against them not only received rewards, but were declared to have deserved well of the State; and, in woods and caverns, and desert places, they were sought out and dragged to torture, or banishment, or death. In 1658, an oath of abjuration was prescribed for all Catholics, in which the authority of the Pope in Church matters was denied; and the reverence paid to the Blessed Virgin, the belief in the invocation of saints, the Real Presence, Purgatory, and the forgiveness of sins, were condemned.[14] A Catholic refusing the oath, if rich, suffered the loss of two-thirds of his goods, if poor, was sent as a slave to Barbadoes. The rich were thus made poor, the poor driven into exile. The soldiers were gone, and were fighting on foreign fields; famine and war had decimated the masses of the people; the churches were in ruins; the altars overthrown; the images broken; the sacred

[12] *Our Martyrs*, pp. 328, 355.
[13] Moran's *Persecutions under the Puritans*, pp. 118-20.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 187-8.

vessels turned to profane uses; and the Irish Church, which in 1640 had 27 bishops, and priests in every parish, a few years later, had to lament the loss of a thousand priests driven into exile. Nor was there a single bishop in the country but the Bishop of Kilmore, who, weighed down by age and infirmities, was unfit to discharge his episcopal functions, and even unable to seek safety in flight.[15] The horrors of Elizabeth's reign were equalled and surpassed. But a few years more of Puritan rule and Catholicity would have been extinguished in Ireland.

To a land thus drenched with blood the Restoration was a welcome relief. Charles, indeed, like all the Stuarts, had little gratitude, and ill requited the services of his Irish subjects. But he had little sympathy with the persecution of Catholicism. Yet the bigotry of the Parliament in England, and of Ormond in Ireland, sometimes forced his hand; and his reign was disgraced by the death of Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin in prison, and, still more, by the death of Oliver Plunkett on the scaffold. This period of toleration with intermittent persecution, was followed by the short reign of James II., when Catholicism was raised to a position, not only of equality, but, of predominance. With the surrender of Limerick the era of predominance, and even of equality, was ended, and a new and shameful era of penal legislation was ushered in.

By the Irish Catholics this turn of affairs was little expected. They relied on the Treaty of Limerick, and believed it guaranteed toleration of their religion, and protected them against further penal laws. Its Military Articles, 29 in number, were only of a transient nature, and affected those actually in arms, with special reference to their shipment beyond the sea. The Civil Articles numbered 13; they affected the nation at large; and it is round these articles, and their proper interpretation, that so many fierce contests have been waged. The phraseology in which they were embodied was not happy, and lent itself to equivocation and ambiguity; and it is a mild censure on Sarsfield and his friends to say that, in the drawing up of this solemn treaty, on which so much depended for good or ill, they might have shaped it with

[15] Moran's *Persecutions under the Puritans* pp. 121-2.

more caution and care. The Catholics were to enjoy "such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II.;" and, in either alternative, much or little might be meant. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were still on the statute book, and what amount of toleration did these Acts contemplate, or what amount would the Catholics enjoy if these Acts were enforced? Nor was it safe to appeal with confidence to the reign of Charles II. Sometimes, indeed, there was a feeble and contemptuous toleration, when the Church might be said to emerge from the catacombs; when, in fear and trembling, schools and churches were opened. But on the other hand there were times when the spirit of persecution was unrestrained; when the Catholics were disarmed, and excluded from the magistracy and the corporations; when all schools, colleges and convents, were closed; when the Mass was prohibited, and the clergy commanded to quit the kingdom, and the Catholic inhabitants expelled from the garrison towns, and forbidden to meet even to discuss their grievances.[16] It was consistent with the laws of England to believe Oates and Bedloe, and to send multitudes of innocent men to death, as it was with the laws of Ireland that Oliver Plunkett's life should be sworn away by perjured hirelings. If, then, the reign of Charles II. was to be set up as an example to be followed, the question arose, were the Catholics of Ireland to live in hope or in fear? were they to expect a caress or a blow? was the outlook to be a clear sky with the sun shining in the heavens, or were the clouds to be dark and menacing, the atmosphere thick and heavy, while the thunder rolled and the lightning flashed through the gloom? It might be one or the other; all depended on the sense in which the first of the Civil Articles was construed.

The Catholics had no doubt that it should be construed to spell toleration. When these articles were agreed to, Limerick was still in their hands; its defenders were numerous and well armed; its defences had been much strengthened since the

[16] Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*—(Reign of Charles II.,) pp. 12-15 *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, Vol. II., pp. 73-4.

preceding year, and it was, therefore, better able to resist than it had been when it hurled back the attack of King William. There was, further, an assured hope of help from France, a hope which was soon realised by the arrival of Chateau-Renaud and his fleet and army in Dingle Bay. On the other hand, the winter was approaching; the enemy's trenches would soon be filled with water; the Irish climate, especially in winter, always told severely on English troops; and, in a few months, the horrors of disease which, two years before, had decimated Schomberg's army at Dundalk, might again decimate Ginkle's army before Limerick. Meantime, King William was at war with France, and the forces at Limerick were badly wanted for foreign fields. For the Irish to lay down their arms in these circumstances, and get nothing in exchange but slavery and chains, would have been to act as madmen. "Since the Irish had it in their power to give us the town of Limerick," says Story, "or keep it for themselves, I see no reason why they ought not to make a bargain for it and expect the performance of their contract." [17] Nor was it so bad a bargain if it had been carried out in an honest spirit, and not with the desire to overreach and play false.

Not only was there to be such toleration as there had been in the reign of Charles II., but, in addition, the first Article promised that their Majesties would call an Irish Parliament, and endeavour to obtain a further relaxation of the penal laws in force. Those in arms in the several counties and those under their protection were secured in their estates; and from all who submitted to the new dynasty only the oath of allegiance was exacted, a stipulation plainly inconsistent with the oath of Supremacy and its vexatious provisions. The position of the Catholics, then, was that they could vote for members of Parliament, and sit in both Houses, become members of corporations, engage in trade, inherit and possess landed property, practise all professions, and have their churches and schools. All this did not place them on an equality with the Protestants, but it took away many vexatious restrictions, and it raised them

[17] Story's *Continuation*, p. 279.

beyond the level of outlaws and slaves; and, if the Protestants rejoiced at the triumph of William, and looked to the future of their church without fear, the Catholics also could rejoice that petty persecution was over, and that an era of peace and religious freedom had begun.[18]

It soon became evident, however, that these bright hopes must be abandoned. While yet Limerick was in their hands, the Catholics got a foretaste of what was to come. In the second of the Civil Articles, which protected the soldiers and inhabitants in the Catholic quarters from forfeiture of their estates, the additional clause, "and all such as are under their protection in the said counties," was agreed to; but when the articles were engrossed this clause was found to be omitted. The fraud was detected and protested against by the Catholic leaders; the omission was made good; and the King, in confirming the articles, included the omitted clause, adding that he knew it had been in the draft copy.[19] This attempted fraud was soon followed by successful and flagrant spoliation. Magistrates and sheriffs, presuming on their power, and without law or justice, robbed the Catholics of their goods and lands; and from all quarters came to the Lord Justices, complaints of ill-usage suffered by those who had their Majesties' protection, and were included in the Articles of Limerick.[20] Nor was this all. Dr. Dopping, the Protestant Bishop of Meath, preached before the Lords Justices that no faith ought to be kept with Catholics. They kept, he said, no faith with others themselves, and therefore, it seems, the Protestants were justified in imitating their perfidy. To the honour of those in authority, Dopping's name was struck off the list of Privy Councillors; and the following Sunday, in the same pulpit which Dopping had disgraced, the Bishop of Kilmore preached the obligation of keeping public faith. This was too much for the bigots, who hated the Catholics, and longed for further confiscations; and on the third Sunday, Dean

[18] Story, pp. 239-54. Copy of the Articles, Civil and Military; Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, Vol. II., pp. 207-21.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[20] Harris's *Life of William III.*, pp. 350-5.

Synge preached in Christ's Church, maintaining that the Treaty of Limerick should be kept "if possible." But even this attenuated adherence to truth and honesty was too much. The cry went forth that the Protestants were being betrayed; that the insolence of the Catholics should be curbed; that their lands should not be left to rebels and outlaws; and that the Irish Parliament dared not confirm in their entirety the Articles of Limerick.[21]

While the public mind was thus agitated, the Parliament met in Dublin, in October, 1692. Porter and Coningsby had ceased to be Lords Justices, and the Earl of Sydney, just appointed Lord Lieutenant, opened the session with a speech. He was a just and fair-minded man, and wished the Parliament to confirm by law the Articles of Limerick in their entirety. But those whom he addressed had little sympathy with his views. In the preceding year the English Parliament had enacted that no one could sit in the Irish Parliament without taking the Oath of Supremacy, and subscribing to the Declaration against Transubstantiation.[22] The Irish Parliament, on other questions, might be disposed to resent being thus bound by a purely English Act, in the passing of which their assent had not been obtained; but when it was a question of fresh disabilities for the hated Papists their acquiescence was readily given. The Catholic members of both houses—they were but a few—presented themselves at the opening of the session, and were tendered the oath and Declaration as a necessary preliminary to taking their seats. They refused both, and were not allowed to sit; and thus the Parliament which Sydney addressed was exclusively Protestant. Its members were quite ready to thank King William for his efforts against "Popish tyranny;" and they willingly passed a Recognition Act, by which he and his heirs were declared the lawful sovereigns of Ireland.[23] They were ready also to encourage French and Flemish Protestants to settle in Ireland, and guaranteed them full freedom of their religion, even though they did not subscribe to the Established Church. But

[21] Froude's *English in Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 248-9.
[22] Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. II., pp. 300-1.
[23] *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., p. 506.

in other directions they could be neither led nor driven. Their tone was querulous and critical, and regarding Catholic demands, they were more disposed to coercion than to concession. They declared it a great grievance that Papists should have arms, or serviceable horses, or boats; they expelled one of their own members because he had served King James; they protested against the number of outlawries that had been reversed, and the number of pardons that had been given; and they peremptorily refused to give legislative sanction to the Articles of Limerick. Finally, they refused to vote part of the money asked by the Government for supply, on the ground that the money bill had not originated with themselves.[24] An obstinate assembly, such as this, which would do nothing but wrangle and complain, was ill-suited for legislative work; and Sydney angrily prorogued Parliament on the 3rd of November following, and subsequently it was dissolved.[25] For the moment Protestant Ascendency was powerless, and a practical toleration of Catholicity went on. But the Ascendency party had friends in England; intrigues were set on foot against Sydney, who was recalled in the following year, and three Lords Justices, Capel, Wych, and Duncombe, took the government of Ireland in hands. The two latter were known to share Sydney's views, but these also were got rid of, and Capel, raised to the peerage, became Lord Lieutenant, and in 1695, a new Irish Parliament was called.

At last the party of intolerance was in power, and was determined to use its power to the full. The defenders of Derry would revenge themselves on the defenders of Limerick; they would teach the Catholics to be submissive, and to remember that they were a conquered race; they would pay off old scores—the rebellion of 1641, the brutality of De Rosen at Derry, the attainders and outlawries of James's Parliament, the robberies of the Rapparees; they would retaliate on their own follow-countrymen the sufferings endured by the Huguenots of France and the Waldenses of Piedmont; and, unmindful of a solemn treaty, they proceeded to fashion a penal code, the most shameful of which there is

[24] *Commons Journal*, pp. 600, 602, 615.
[25] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 629-30; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 418-19; Harris, *Appendix*, 65—(Sydney's Speech).

record. There was nobody to say them nay. The Viceroy was a man after their own hearts, "without any regard to equity or justice," says Harris;[26] and he was as much opposed as they were to the Articles of Limerick.[27] The King, cold, austere, selfish, without a spark of chivalry, finding the Catholics troublesome and impotent, abandoned them to their foes, and made no serious effort to carry out the engagements he had made; and the Catholics themselves, were entirely unrepresented in Parliament, and had no hope of again trying the fortune of war. Thus free to indulge their animosities and to give them expression in legislative enactments, the Protestant Parliament had a long series of penal laws passed in the session of 1695. They re-enacted those portions of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation which disqualified Catholics from being members of corporations, from voting for such, and even from inhabiting in corporate towns. They were also forbidden to have schools and colleges at home, and if they sent their children abroad, to be educated in a Catholic college or convent, they were at once placed outside the pale of citizenship, rendered incapable of being guardians or executors, or administrators, of filling any office, of inheriting property, and, further, they forfeited all the real and personal property which they already possessed. After the 1st of March following, no Catholic could have arms or ammunition, and, if it was suspected he had any such, two magistrates might search his house. If he concealed arms after that date, he was, for the first offence, fined and imprisoned; for the second offence, he incurred the penalty of *praemunire*. A few noblemen and gentlemen, specially included in the Articles of Limerick and Galway, or those specially licensed, could carry a sword and pistol. In addition to this, no gunsmith could take a Catholic apprentice, nor could any Catholic possess a horse of value more than £5. There was also an Act prohibiting Catholic holydays.

The following year Capel died, and was succeeded by Porter who also died in the same year. To him succeeded Ruvigny, Ear.

[26] Harris, p. 417.

[27] Moran, *The Catholics of Ireland under the Penal Laws in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 6; Harris, pp. 418-19; *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 659, 743.

of Galway. Exiled from France, because he was a Protestant, what he had suffered for his own faith had not taught him to be tolerant to others. He was as bitter and as bigoted as Capel; and when he opened the Irish Parliament, in 1697, the Catholics had before them a fresh crop of penal laws. A law was passed commanding all bishops, vicars-general, and regular priests to quit the kingdom before the 1st of May following. If they failed to go they were imprisoned till transported; if, after going abroad, they returned, they were guilty of high treason; and for concealing any such bishop or regular, the penalty was a heavy fine, and forfeiture of goods and lands. To bury the dead in an old ruined church or monastery was also punishable by a fine; and the Protestant heiress who married a Catholic suffered the loss of all her property, which was transferred to her Protestant next-of-kin. Nor could a clergyman assist at such a marriage without the penalty of a fine, as well as contracting perpetual incapacity to fill either civil or military office. Further, those who refused to work on Catholic holydays were liable to be fined or whipped. In the teeth of the Limerick Articles, an Outlawries Act was passed, declaring forfeit the estates of those who had been killed in rebellion, or had died in foreign service, and this though they had been pardoned by the King. An exception was made in the case of Sarsfield and a few other noblemen; but the exception was made at the suggestion of a strong party in the Irish House of Lords, and not at the suggestion either of Lord Galway or the King. By another Act the Articles of Limerick were confirmed, but with the omission of the disputed clause, the preamble stating that so much only of the Articles was confirmed "as might consort with the safety and welfare of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland," a fatal use of the loose wording in which the first of the Civil Articles was drawn. Even in a Parliament from which truth and justice seemed to have fled, such shameless perfidy was condemned. A small minority in the Commons protested; but the protest in the Upper House was stronger and bolder, and only by a majority of one was the Act "confirming" the Articles of Limerick passed into law. Fifteen members recorded a protest, which was entered on the Journals of the House, and in which they declared, and with

truth, that the Act left the Catholics worse than they were before, and that many, previously included within the Articles, were now excluded from them. Five of those who protested were bishops, from which it may be concluded that not all of the episcopacy were of the base character of Dopping.[28]

About this time the English woollen manufacturers took alarm at the importation of the woollen manufactures from Ireland, and petitioned the English House of Lords to put down their rivals. The Lords petitioned the King, who promised that "he would do all in his power to discourage the woollen manufactures of Ireland," and in the session of 1698, an Act was passed prohibiting the exportation of woollen cloths to any country except England, and to England itself, except subject to ruinous tariffs. Nor could Irish wool be sent to England except through the one port of Barnstaple. This was a measure which affected the Irish Protestants as well as the Catholics, yet but one member of Parliament—Molyneux—protested. It was easy and safe to tyrannize over Irish Papists; but in dealing with the English Parliament the Irish members were quick to recognise their master; and only the feeblest resistance was offered to a measure which destroyed the Irish woollen trade at a single blow.[29] The English Parliament also took into consideration the question of the recently forfeited estates. The commissioners appointed by them found many abuses. Some Papists, they said, were treated with too great leniency and pardoned too easily; and King William had made enormous grants to his friends—to the Earls of Galway and Albemarle, to his special friend Bentinck, and worst of all, to his discarded mistress, the Countess of Orkney. All such grants were declared void; and by the Act of Resumption, in 1700, the English Parliament appropriated these lands to the public revenue; at which William was so displeased that, though he gave his assent to the law, he at once prorogued Parliament, without even making

[28] *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 938-40; Froude, Vol. I., p. 283. (Extract from the Journals of the House of Lords); Harris, pp. 420-3.

[29] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 997, 1104, 1122; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 658-9; Froude, pp. 296-8; Harris, pp. 461, 466.

a speech. "He was," says Macaulay, "too angry to thank the Commons, and too prudent to reprimand them."[30]

He had reason to be more angry in the next year, when Louis XIV., at the death-bed of James II., recognised his surviving son as King of England. The deposed King had seen his fairest hopes of recovering his crown ruined by the defeat of La Hogue (1692), and since then had lived, a pensioner of France, at St. Germains. There had been intrigues and plots in England on his behalf, but they had all miscarried, and the ineptitude of James himself was such that nobody who espoused his cause could succeed.[31] At last even Louis ceased to support his pretensions, and by the peace of Ryswick he acknowledged William to be King of England. To go back on his word when James was dying was to tear in pieces the treaty he had signed. It meant war, and as such it was understood in England. But William was unable to carry out his project of retaliation for on the 7th of March he died in London. It need hardly be said that Protestant England was not ready to adopt the recommendation of the French King, and take to her bosom the Catholic son of the dead Catholic James. The settlement of the crown had been already made in favour of James's daughter, Anne; and the childless Protestant King was succeeded by the childless Protestant Queen.

To the Irish Catholics neither the death of James nor that of William could be matter for regret. One was a poltroon, the other had shamefully broken his word. Nor could it much interest them whether it was the son or the daughter of James who succeeded to the vacant throne. The Stuarts they found all alike, a family for whom they had made great sacrifices, and from whom they had got nothing in return but ingratitude and treachery. It was, however, of ill omen that the Duke of Ormond came over as Viceroy. Inheriting some of his grandfather's talents, he inherited also his hatred of Catholicism; and when the Irish Parliament hastened to welcome him, and to express a

[30] Vol. II., pp. 752-63.

[31] *Calendar of the Stuart Papers at Windsor*, pp. 111-12—(Copy of James's Proclamation).

hope that Popery would be still further discouraged, the Catholics knew that the resources of bigotry were not yet exhausted, and that further repressive legislation was to come. In the session of 1704, such legislation did come, when the "Bill to prevent the further growth of Popery" became law. As can be seen by its many clauses, it aimed rather at the Catholics' property than at their faith, and was inspired more by cupidity than by religious zeal. If the son of a Catholic landholder became a Protestant, no matter how young he was, his father forthwith became merely a tenant for life, and could neither sell his property nor mortgage it, nor dispose of it by will. The converted son was placed under the guardianship of his nearest Protestant relative, and at his father's death the whole property became his. No Catholic could inherit property from a Protestant; nor could he purchase landed estate, or rents, or profits arising out of land, or hold a lease for life or for more than 31 years; and even in this latter case, if the farm yielded him a profit amounting to more than one-third of the rental, any Protestant who discovered this could eject the Catholic and claim the property as his own. Neither could a Catholic marry a Protestant; and a special committee was appointed by the Irish House of Commons, in 1707, to see how this law regarding intermarriages was carried out.[32] A Catholic having only Catholic children was bound at his death to divide his land among them in equal shares. No Catholic could fill any office, however small, without taking the Oath of Abjuration, nor could any live in Galway or Limerick, except seamen, fishermen, and day labourers. Pilgrimages to holy wells were forbidden under pain of a fine or a whipping. As to the secular clergy, only one was allowed in each parish, but was bound to be registered, nor could his church have either cross, bell, or steeple.[33] When the Bill was sent to England it came back with the Test Bill added, an addition which struck at the Dissenters, by making them ineligible for office. It was said that this was done, so that the Bill might be lost, as it was thought its provisions were too severe.[34] But even the

[32] *Commons Journal*, Vol. III., p. 477.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 351, 474; Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 157-8.
[34] Burnet, *History of his own Times*, Vol. IV., pp. 22-4.

Dissenters themselves offered no opposition. In their anxiety to put fetters on the Catholics, they were ready to forge fetters for themselves; and the promise made to them by the Protestants, that the Test Act would soon be repealed, they found to be a delusion.

With such legislation as this the Catholics of Limerick and Galway felt specially aggrieved; and three of their number, all lawyers, were heard at the bar of the House of Commons. The chief of them, Sir Theobald Butler, made a strong case. He reminded his audience that the Irish at Limerick and Galway might have prolonged the war, and were pardoned all their offences by their submission. Since then they had committed no offence —let those who had, if there were any such, be punished—and why should they not be free, as in the time of Charles II., to sell or dispose of their property? He appealed to them to remember that even among heathens public faith was inviolable; and recalled as a warning the case of the Gibeonites, who for similar conduct brought famine on their land and a curse on the children of Saul. "For God's sake, gentlemen, will you consider whether this is according to the golden rule to do as you would be done by?" But appeals to justice and truth, as well as argument, were in vain. The hearts of his hearers were hardened. They answered that the Catholics had none to blame but themselves; let them conform to the established religion and all penal enactments would cease.[35] So far from the Bill being lost, it was passed in its entirety, and in the following year, the House of Commons passed a resolution declaring that magistrates and judges who were remiss in enforcing the law were enemies of the State.[36] By an Act passed in 1708, no Catholic could be a juror, except in cases where Protestants were not available; and, in 1709, an Act explaining and amending the Act of 1704 was passed, under which Catholics were prohibited from purchasing annuities, or from teaching school, either as principal or assistant. When a Catholic son turned Protestant, his father was at once bound to discover on oath the full value of his estate, and forthwith the

[35] Curry's *Review*, Vol. II., pp. 237-9, 386-99—*Appendix*
[36] *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 288-9, 312.

Lord Chancellor set aside a maintenance for the converted son, and a like provision was made for a Catholic wife who deserted her husband's faith.[37] In the following year all priests, whether registered or not, were bound to take the oath of Abjuration, swearing that the Pretender had no right to the crown, and that this oath was taken "heartily, freely, and willingly." Whoever refused the oath suffered transportation for the first offence, and for the second, death.[38]

The exhausted bigotry of the Irish Parliament was equal only to three more penal enactments, one, in 1716, prohibiting Catholics from being high constables, or even petty constables; one, in 1727, depriving them of the parliamentary and municipal franchise, and, in 1745, an Act invalidating all marriages between Protestant and Catholic, or between two Protestants when celebrated by a priest or by a degraded clergyman of another faith; and the minister who officiated was liable to the punishment of death.[39] It was not, however, the fault of these Irish legislators that yet another enactment, one of the most infamous ever contemplated in a civilised assembly, was not added to this long catalogue of proscriptive laws. It was proposed, in 1723, that all priests should be compelled to quit the kingdom, and if they refused they might be taken and castrated. The Bill was sent to England and warmly supported by the Viceroy, the Duke of Grafton, but to the honour of England and of human nature it was never returned.[40]

Even without this disgraceful enactment, the Penal Code was sufficiently complete—an elaborate and carefully devised instrument of repression—and well deserves its description by Burke—"as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a feeble people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

The object of law and government ought to be to safeguard the interests of individual members of the State, to protect the peaceable and law-abiding, to repress disorder, to encourage industry,

[37] *Commons Journal*, Vol. III., pp. 686, 697
[38] Lecky's *Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 159-60.
[39] *Commons Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 267.
[40] Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 164-5; Froude, Vol. I., pp. 608-12, 620-4.

to reward merit, to promote the greater good of the greater number of the people. No such objects as these were aimed at by the Penal Code. It prevented the fusion of races and parties which time would surely bring, perpetuated antagonisms, and divided Ireland into two warring factions—the privileged and the persecuted, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under its baneful influence the position of the Catholics was that of the Israelites under Pharaoh, or that of the Sicilians under Verres. Every grade of society felt its oppressive hand, and whithersoever the Catholic turned, the sinister shadow of the Penal Code fell darkly across his path. The country gentleman was shut out from the magistracy, the lawyer from the bench and bar, the merchant from the corporation, the trader from the towns, the soldier was deprived of his sword; and the Parliament heard with sympathy the complaints of some Protestant coal-porters, that a Catholic coal-merchant of Dublin employed members of his own faith, "by which the petitioners are hindered from their small trade and gains." [41] To have sincere religious convictions was to be punished, to have no religion was to be rewarded; and the dissolute son, the disobedient wife, were protected and encouraged, while the dutiful wife and child were hunted down. The Catholic landlord lived in constant dread of some prying neighbour who coveted his estate, and sometimes got it; and at his death he was confronted with the saddening alternative, that the property, belonging to his family for ages, would pass either into strange hands, or into the hands of an apostate child.[42]

From a land blighted by such laws, where every avenue was closed to energy and enterprise, where the ambitious could get no outlet for their talents and could see no prospect of advancement, thousands of young men went, year after year, in an ever-flowing stream. They left, the very flower of the nation, carrying in their hearts the bitter memory of wrong, and sought and found in foreign lands a home, and often fame and fortune as well. Others conformed to Protestanism, and preserved their estates

[41] *Commons Journal*, Vol. II., p. 699
[42] Scully's *Penal Laws*, pp. 250-2.

and practised their professions without hindrance. A small number, too conscientious to abandon their faith, too timid to go abroad, managed, with the connivance of some friendly Protestant, to hold their properties. The remainder gradually sank to the level of the peasantry, and thus disappeared in poverty and obscurity some of the greatest Irish names. The condition of these was pitiable. The woollen manufactures were destroyed and, therefore, gave them no employment; the linen manufactures were confined to Ulster. Along the southern coast, indeed, the fisheries furnished a living to some.[43] But the main reliance was on the land. In many cases the landlord was an absentee, and got his rents through an agent, who let the lands to substantial tenants called Middlemen, or sometimes Squireens. These again sublet to others at a profit rent, who in turn sub-let at a further profit-rent; until at the lowest rung of the ladder we reach the Catholic tenant, living on a small patch of land, and compelled to pay whatever rent the middleman chose to exact. Usually it was a rackrent. In addition, the tenant had to pay tithes, which the parson let to a tithe-farmer, who exacted what he pleased, and far more than he was entitled to exact by law. And between the tithe-farmer and the middleman, the tenant was ground to the earth. He had to build his own house; he had to work for the middleman for miserable wages, and often for nothing; his food was of the poorest, so also was his dress; his wife and children were without shoes, and sometimes they were almost naked; his cabin was of sods covered with earth or heath, consisting of but one room, through the door of which the smoke made its way. In that single room the whole family lay down to rest at night, and with them also were the cat, the dog, the fowl, the donkey, the cow, and the pig.[44] The dividing line with them between hunger and food was narrow. Last year's potatoes were often exhausted before the new crop came in; in July and August, the poor lived on cabbage mixed with milk; and in Kerry, when Sunday came, the cows were bled and the blood cooked, so

[43] Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 337-9.

[44] Young's *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II., pp. 40-55; Berkeley's Works, Vol. II., pp. 438-9.

that on that day at least the owners had an appetising meal.[45]

The sufferings of the sorely-afflicted tenantry were aggravated by the insolence and brutality of the squireens. Some of them amassed wealth, and Young mentions cases where they had incomes of £10,000 a year. But such cases were rare, the more usual income being that given by Miss Edgeworth, namely from £500 to £600 a year.[46] They were an unhealthy product of Irish life. They aped the manners of the upper classes, but in no sense were they gentlemen. They had little education; their manners were coarse and rude, to those above them obsequious, to those below them harsh and hectoring; they drank, they swore, they gambled, they fought duels; they were idle, dissolute, and immoral; they kept packs of hounds; they indulged in horse racing and ran into debt; they exacted free labour from their tenants, horsewhipped them if they were not sufficiently submissive, and loved to insult them by drinking the health of King William and confusion to the Pope.[47] This, then, was what fell to the lot of the Catholic tenant: a mud cabin fit for a pig, and which he shared with that animal, a patch of ground at a rackrent, precarious and ill-paid labour, chronic starvation, and ever impending famine, rags for his wife and children, extortionate tithes for an alien church, a coarse and brutal landlord with an insult often, and sometimes a blow, and, worst of all, a persistent attempt by government and law to shut him out from the Kingdom of Heaven. It was surely a hard lot.

In such abnormal conditions, political and social, lawlessness was sure to prevail, and sometimes in the perpetration of those lawless acts Protestants and Catholics joined hands. Forcible abduction was of frequent occurence, and it sometimes happened that mixed bands of Protestants and Catholics were organised to obtain possession of a lady whose wealth or personal attractions had excited the cupidity of some suitor of influence in the

[45] Lecky, Vol. II., p. 10.
[46] *Vide, The Absentee.*
[47] Young, Vol. II., pp. 24-32, 155-6; see also Miss Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent.*

neighbourhood. It might be that the lady was not unwilling, and that these means were used to extort an unwilling parent's consent. On the other hand, she often resisted with all her strength, but her efforts were futile against overwhelming force, and she was carried off to the bogs or mountains, where a suspended priest or disfrocked parson, nicknamed a "couple-beggar," was already waiting, and the abducted heiress was married. Mr. Froude more than insinuates that in every case the criminal was a Catholic, and was encouraged by his priests, and that thus did the Catholics revenge themselves for the penal laws and recover some of their lost lands. Mr. Lecky, however, went over the same ground, and examined the same documents in the State Paper Office, and he discovered that this grievous accusation was unfounded. And when Mr. Lecky's character for fair play is remembered, and Mr. Froude's character for exaggeration and inaccuracy, there can be little doubt as to which is to be believed.[48]

In lawless acts of another kind also, the Protestant and Catholic joined hands. The heavy tariff on exported wool made exportation of it to England unprofitable, and both Protestant and Catholic suffered in consequence. But a higher price might be obtained in France, and thither large quantities were smuggled. The little vessels engaged in this illicit traffic were carefully manned and well armed. The revenue cutters found them dangerous to attack on the open sea, and once inshore they were successfully piloted by local knowledge into the harbours and creeks which run so far into the land on the west and south-western coasts. Thus it happened that the Irish wool went off from the coasts of Kerry and Cork and Galway, and not infrequently, in the same vessels went stalwart youths to swell the ranks of the French army, while in exchange came back the silver pieces of Rochelle, the silks of Lyons, and the brandies and wines of Bordeaux. The trade although perilous was profitable, and danger, as well as profit, had its attractions. Nor were the officers of the law above taking a bribe. The magistrate might be easily induced to see a flaw in the evidence when his cellar was filled with smuggled

[48] Froude, Vol. I., pp. 465-80; Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 370-85.

brandy; the juries would think it a pity if the supply of the same article was cut off; and both landlord and tenant resented interference with a trade which enabled them to sell wool in France for two shillings, which at home fetched no more than fivepence a pound. Thus did the short-sighted commercial policy of England recoil on herself; thus was a dangerous intercourse kept up between France and Ireland; while the English revenue was defrauded of its due.[49]

In other directions the partnership in lawlessness was not maintained. An exception, however, occurred near Killarney, where a wealthy middleman named O'Mahony was surrounded by more than three thousand Catholic tenants, eighty of whom he always kept under arms. They were known as "Mahony's fairesses," and resisted, with success and with impunity, all government officers, such as gaugers, and collectors of hearth money, as well as bailiffs and informers, and terrorised all who were obnoxious to their master or to themselves. Both in Kerry and Connaught, where mountains and bogs were plenty, and roads few, there were numbers of Tories, the dispossessed children of the soil. The wild and desolate district of Iar-Connaught, stretching westward from Loch Corrib, was as lawless as any portion of Kerry; and in the two years from 1711 to 1713, bands of armed men went abroad at night houghing cattle and mutilating sheep. They were disguised and intelligently organised, and, under a leader called Captain Eaver, they spread terror far and wide. In a short time they extended their operations all over Connaught except Leitrim. Some landlords had recently taken to evicting their tenants, so as to consolidate the small farms, and give them to a few large graziers, and this, it is thought, was the origin of the Houghers; but it may be also that they were taking revenge for the penal laws. To some extent, and for a short time, they succeeded. The landlords and the graziers were seized with panic, and men ceased to be sent adrift in order to make room for cattle and sheep. No one seemed to know where the houghers came from, nor who were their leaders. The very earth seemed

[49] Froude, Vol. I., pp. 496-503; Lecky, Vol. I., 357-8

to have suddenly vomited them forth, and as suddenly and as mysteriously swallowed them up; and though the organisation lasted for two years and covered a large area, only a few were captured and brought to trial.[50]

The terror they inspired at no time extended beyond Connaught, and even there soon passed away, and the work of turning tillage into pasturage went on. The landlord found this the easiest way to manage his property, preferring one substantial tenant able to pay his rent punctually to several smaller ones who were ever struggling and poor. The large farmer found that pasturage paid. It required no great capital or skill; and, if the English ports were closed against Irish beef, he knew that foreign ports were open, and that there good prices were obtained. As for the tenants, they were only Papists, not worth considering, and under the impulse of this new movement towards larger farms, whole villages were sent adrift. Some begged from door to door, often from people as poor as themselves. Others got a few acres of bog or mountain, and endeavoured to earn something as day labourers. But labour was scarce where tillage had almost ceased and only shepherds were employed; the patch of bog or mountain was unable to support a family; the little cabin was deserted, and the owner, like so many others, went forth to beg. Of the thousands who thronged the roads as beggars—in 1742 there were 30,000—it may be that some preferred begging to work. Dobbs was sure that this was true, and suggested that workhouses should be built and that meantime those who were found begging outside their own parishes should be whipped; Swift would have them forcibly driven out; and so mild a man as Berkeley suggested that the able-bodied should be put to work, loaded with chains.[51] The Irish Parliament, knowing that the increase of pasturage was the cause of this misery, proposed a law, that five out of every hundred acres let to tenants, should be under tillage. But the English dreaded competition from Irish grain if tillage was increased,

[50] Froude, Vol. I., pp. 454-61; Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 355-7, 359-67.

[51] Dobbs's *Essay on Trade*, Book II., pp. 45-7, 50-1; Lecky, Vol. I., p. 229; Swift's *Prose Works*, Vol. IV., 220; Berkeley's Works, Vol. III., p. 387.

and not for years was the consent of the English Privy Council given to the Irish Bill. It passed in 1727, but the Irish Parliament, as if they wanted to defeat their own measure, passed an Act in 1735, freeing pasture lands from tithes. This measure was followed, as it had been preceded, by famine; and in 1727-8, and again in 1742, whole districts were swept away.[52]

Among the Dissenters there were no such miseries as these, but there was much discontent. They had their churches and schools, and held their meetings and synods undisturbed, and except for a short period—from 1711 to 1714—they were regularly paid the *regium donum*, which, after all, was a State recognition of their church. Yet they had grievances, and some of them serious. They were almost exclusively confined to Ulster, and almost exclusively Scotch, and as such had a high opinion of themselves and of their religion, and a very poor opinion of the Protestants. They still entertained the old Covenanting hatred of episcopacy. They boasted, and with some justice, that they had defended Derry against the Catholics; yet they were looked at askance by the Protestant Parliament at Dublin, in which they had but a few representatives. The English Toleration Act was not extended to them till 1719, but the Test Act was, with the result that they were excluded from office and from the magistracy; and their meeting-houses and synods, though connived at, were really against the law.[53] Their industry and thrift were hampered by the laws against exporting cattle to England, against the woollen manufactures, and against the exportation of striped or coloured linen.[54] When the leases of their farms expired, the rents had been raised by the Protestant landlords; the repeated famines were depressing; and perhaps they thought, as the Catholics had died of hunger, so also might their turn come.[55] Their industrial capacity sought for an outlet in other lands; the stream of emigration began to flow, and as time passed it swelled in volume, until from Ulster alone a total of 12,000 a year was reached.

[52] Lecky, pp. 218-25; Froude, Vol. I., pp. 445-8.
[53] Latimer, pp. 272-8, 289-90, 295.
[54] Dobbs, p. 62.
[55] Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 424-8, 432.

Some, Protestants as well as Presbyterians, went to Germany; some settled at Rouen, and were well received by Louis XIV.; some went to the West Indies; some to Virginia and North Carolina; and some to the New England States.[56] They left with no friendly feeling towards England, and were ready and eager to join her enemies; and if Irish exiles brought disaster on her troops at Fontenoy, others swept them back at Lexington and Bunker's Hill.[57]

In the meantime, the efforts to root out Catholicity in Ireland were continued. A people with religious instincts do not easily change their religion, nor abandon old convictions for those that are new. If it is sought to affect so sweeping a change, it must be done by persuasion and argument, by kindness, conciliation and sympathy, and by ministers who are earnest and sincere, and inspired by motives which all men may see are lofty and pure. It was thus that the greatest of all teachers acted. He amassed no wealth, coveted no honours, sought for no comfort; He spared no labour in the work of His ministry; He exhorted, entreated, argued, helped the weak, fed the hungry, soothed suffering and sorrow; and when He promulgated His law, He made the transition easy for the converted Jews, allowed them time to abandon the law under which their ancestors lived and died, and thus to bury the synagogue with honour. By the Irish Protestants these gentler methods were scorned. They would whip the Papists out of their errors; they were rebels and traitors, and must as such be hunted down. The Irish Parliament, by resolution, urged the magistrates to put the penal laws in force, and denounced those who were merciful as enemies of the State, as well as made them liable to a heavy fine; while the informers who spied upon their priests were publicly commended.[58] It was even proposed to fall upon the Catholics and murder them, in revenge for 1641.[59] The Earl of

[56] *Cambridge Modern History of the United States*, pp. 55, 221; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Vol. II., p. 967.

[57] Lecky, p. 437; Froude, pp. 435-8; *Boulter's Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 260-2.

[58] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 161; *Commons Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 25, 383.

[59] Curry, Vol. II., 269.

Pembroke, the Viceroy, spoke of them in 1706 as the common enemy, and the Duke of Grafton, in proroguing Parliament, in 1721, warned the members to keep a watchful eye on the Papists.[60] Such was the hatred of Parliament towards them, that a special resolution was passed, in 1713, excluding them from the galleries of the House of Commons.[61] None were more zealous in passing such resolutions than some of the bishops in the House of Lords; nor were any more zealous in carrying them out than the Protestant ministers throughout the land.

And what was the character of the Protestant bishops and clergy? Of the former most were English, for the position was too good for a mere Irishman; and of these Swift's description is well known.[62] "Excellent and moral men had been selected upon every occasion of a vacancy; but it unfortunately happened, that, as these worthy divines crossed Hounslow Heath on their way to Ireland, to take possession of their bishoprics, they have been regularly robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting that common, who seize upon their robes and patents, come over to Ireland, and are consecrated bishops in their stead."[63] At all events, they had no zeal. For the 11 years that he was Bishop of Raphoe, Porter lived outside the diocese, except for 18 months. Hackett of Down was 20 years a bishop, and all the time resided at Hammersmith, near London.[64] Ashe of Clogher and Digby of Dromore were both absentees, and the latter was appointed because he could paint well. At the age of 76, Fitzgerald of Clonfert married a girl of 20, and, for the 12 years he lived, it was his wife who ruled the diocese, so that there was "no discipline nor care of spirituals or temporals."[65] The clergy imitated the Bishops; and those who did reside in their dioceses did nothing but "eat, drink, grow fat, rich, and die."[66] It was said that when Berkeley of Cloyne was going to his diocese he sent before him 22 cartloads.

[60] *Commons Journal*, Vol. III., p. 698; Vol. IV., p. 874
[61] *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 976.
[62] Lecky, p. 203.
[63] *Prose Works*, Vol. III., p. 220.
[64] Lecky, pp. 205-6.
[65] Mant, Vol. II., pp. 283, 380.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 581.

of books and one hogshead of wine; but an Ulster bishop in like circumstances sent one cartload of books and 22 hogsheads of wine; and the Ulster bishop was far more typical of his episcopal brethren than the great bishop of Cloyne.[67] "The world," says King, Archbishop of Dublin, "begins to look on us as a parcel of men who have invented a trade for our easy and convenient living."[68] It was little wonder if it did. The least of these bishoprics, in Young's time, was worth more than £2,000 a year, while the bishopric of Derry was worth £7,000 a year, and the Primacy £8,000. The lands of the Primacy were worth the enormous total of £100,000 a year.[69]

From ministers of the gospel such as these, wealthy, arrogant, pleasure-loving, as well as from the religion which they professed, the Irish Catholics turned with loathing and horror. They turned instead to the clergy of their own race and blood, and together they fought for their faith. If they had been a minority of the nation their resistance would, no doubt, have been overcome; but it is not possible to coerce effectually a whole nation, nor can a minority, however powerful, permanently hold them down. Disguised as a sailor or merchant's clerk, and perhaps carried in a smuggling craft, the young clerical student went abroad; and when he had completed his studies, at Louvain or Paris, at Salamanca or Seville, and had been duly ordained a priest, he returned home, again disguised, and again defying the law. And once safely among his own people, he began the perilous duties of his office.[70] There were times when he was left undisturbed, that is, when the Protestant minister and gentry in the neighbourhood were tolerant, or when the priest-hunter abstained from his degraded calling, dreading the popular indignation. In such cases he went about without disguise, built a poor church, and a school as poor, visited the sick, and consoled the dying. He lived in the houses of the poor, where he was ever welcome and ever respected; and as he spoke to them of their common faith and of their Master's love, their sordid surroundings

[67] Lecky, p. 206.
[68] Mant, Vol. II., p. 155.
[69] Young, Vol. II., pp. 112-13.
[70] Mitchel's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 24; Moran, pp. 121, 134.

disappeared, and for the moment, their poverty and sorrows were forgotten.

But these times of peace and security did not last. The rewards offered were large, and whetted the appetite of the priest-hunters for victims; the bigotry of the Dublin Parliament was easily inflamed; and then whip and spur were applied to the laggard zeal of magistrates and law officers, and the priest, and those who aided him, were in deadly peril. Disguise then became necessary. The priest went about in frieze; the Primate lived in Louth as Mr. Ennis; the Bishop of Kilmore, who played the bagpipes well, travelled around as a Highland piper. In the sheltering recesses of woods and mountains many lived. The Archbishop of Tuam addressed his letters from his "place of refuge in Connemara;" Mass was said in the fields in Kilmore, and under an old ash tree in Ballysodare in Sligo; in other districts it was the same; and often as the priest said Mass he wore a veil or screened the altar, so that the people who assisted could answer the law officers truly that although they had heard the priest, they had not seen his face, and were therefore unable to tell his name.[71] There were times, however, when these subterfuges did not avail, when the priest-hunter penetrated the disguise and learned the secrets he wished to know; and then if he were not mobbed by the people or sent on a fool's errand by false information,[72] what followed was easy to foresee. The Provost of Bandon, finding a priest returning from administering the sacraments to the dying brought him to the nearest cross-road, and without a trial, or semblance of a trial, had him hanged. Others were thrown into prison, others transported, and in Galway, in 1708, some priests were arrested and publicly whipped.[73] Yet neither terrors nor threats prevailed. A few priests, fallen through drink, accepted the bribes given, and a few of the people, allured by wealth or position, changed their religion, and that was all. The mass of the people and of the priests stood firm. In 1728, Primate Boulter had to lament that there were 3,000 priests in Ireland; that the

[71] Moran, pp. 24-6, 35-7.
[72] Lecky, p. 167.
[73] Moran, p. 71

Catholics were to the Protestants in the proportion of five to one; and that the descendants of Cromwell's soldiers had gone over to Popery.[74] Just half a century later, Young, after careful calculation, estimated that to convert the Irish to Protestantism, supposing the rate of progress be in the future as in the past, would take just four thousand years.[75]

The Irish Parliament and the English Government were perplexed. If the efforts to convert the Irish had been hitherto so barren of result, there was little wisdom in these efforts being continued. The thousands driven abroad by persecution had given England a bad name, and had spread the scandal of the Penal Code throughout Europe; and more than once Catholic powers in alliance with England had remonstrated with her. It was useless to appeal for justification to the case of Philip II., of Spain and the Inquisition, or of Louis of France and the Huguenots. In neither case was the analogy complete; for the Jews and Moors in Spain and the Huguenots in France were but minorities, while the Irish Catholics were in an enormous majority; and in any case, one wrong does not justify the perpetration of another. And if Archbishop King was right in thinking that there never was any design that all the Irish should be Protestants,[76] surely the Protestants themselves might rest satisfied; for they had impoverished the Catholics to such an extent that nothing was left to excite the rapacity of their persecutors. Their lands were gone; wealth they had none; politically and socially they were degraded outcasts. Nor had the Penal Code been ineffective in degrading them morally as well. They had learned to hate government, and glory in the violation of law; accustomed to the spy and the informer, they had become suspicious of everyone, even of their friends; they had contracted a habit of equivocation, and were chary of telling the truth; their manliness of character was to some extent undermined, and they had learned the attitude and the language of slaves. They flattered those whom they despised, and acquiesced in that which they condemned; disheartened

[74] *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 169, 179.
[75] Vol. II., pp. 66-7.
[76] Mant, Vol. II., p. 230.

by repeated defeats, they had lost the courage even to give expression to their discontent, and sank into a hopeless apathy, from which they could see no prospect of deliverance by human means, and nothing was left to them but to hug their chains.

Yet not all the fine features of their character had disappeared. In the midst of their poverty they were hospitable; their kind-heartedness and sympathy for the distressed remained; they were courteous to others, and careful not to wound their feelings; they were patient and resigned; and their standard of domestic morals was the highest in the world. The close union between priests and people was touching; and the tenacity with which, in the face of terrible trials, they clung to the faith they loved, is absolutely without a parallel. Yet, while attached to their own religion, they were tolerant of others. Among no people was there less bigotry, and this characteristic has survived. In the midst of so many sorrows it was hard to be gay; but the natural buoyancy of the Irish character asserted itself, and Young noted that dancing was universal among the poor.[77] Music they cultivated as best they could, but their miserable condition deepened the note of sadness in their songs. Finally, ceasing to hope from men, they looked to God alone, and believed that deliverance would come in God's good time. And it did. Both the Pretenders were able to excite rebellions in Scotland; but in Ireland there was no stir. Discontented the people must have been, and secretly rebellious, but openly rebellious they could not be. "They were as inconsiderable," says Swift, "as the women and children, out of all capacity to do mischief, if they were ever so well inclined."[78] Lord Chesterfield, the Viceroy, was sure that much more was to be feared from their poverty than from their Popery;[79] and when he was urged to take fresh measures of severity against them, he good-humouredly refused, saying that the most dangerous Papist he knew was a Miss Ambrose, a lady who sometimes appeared at the Castle festivities, and was remarkable for her

[77] Vol. I., pp. 446-7.
[78] *Prose Works*, Vol. IV., pp. 16-17.
[79] *Chesterfield's Letters*—(Letter to Mr. Prior.)

beauty and wit.[80] Primate Stone, and some of the bishops, began to favour toleration, and successfully opposed, in 1757, a fresh penal enactment.[81] When George II. became King a proposed address from the Catholics was rejected with contempt; but when George III. ascended the throne, an address was graciously received. Fifteen years later, an Act was passed substituting the Oath of Allegiance for that of Supremacy.[82] This was little, but it was the dawn of hope for the Catholics, as it was a confession of failure on the part of their oppressors. After all, the old Church had weathered the storm; the ship so long buffeted upon the sea was sailing in less troubled waters and far away upon the ocean's rim already could be discerned the dim outlines of the promised land.

[80] Lecky, p. 269.
[81] Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, pp. 388-9.
[82] Curry's *Civil Wars*, Vol. II., p. 288.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Irish Abroad.

WHEN Philip II. became King of Spain he succeeded to an inheritance, such as has rarely fallen to the lot of man. King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, Duke of Milan, Lord of Franche Compte and the Netherlands, ruler of Tunis and the Barbary Coast, of the Canary and Cape Verd Islands, of the Phillipine and the West Indian Islands, and of Mexico and Peru—such were his titles, such was the extent of his dominions. A pious, even bigoted, Catholic, Philip believed he was a chosen instrument, in the hands of God, to put down heresy at home, and to protect Catholicity in other lands.[1] In Spain, he still used the Inquisition; in the Netherlands, he gave Alva a free hand to quench Protestantism in the blood of the Protestants;[2] he favoured the league in France against the Huguenots; and it was his brother, Don John of Austria, who had won the battle of Lepanto. To this powerful monarch, the champion of their faith, the persecuted Irish Catholics turned in their distress; and thus it happened that Irish priests were educated at Louvain, and that, when Fitzmaurice was coming to Ireland, to fight for Catholicity, it was from a Spanish port he set sail.[3] When the Armada failed, the wrecks of many Spanish vessels were strewn along the western coast of Ireland from Dingle to Innishowen; and,

[1] *Robertson's Works*, Vol. VI., p. 267.
[2] Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. II., Part III.
[3] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., pp. 23, 42; Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., pp. 220, 330, 353.

though the reception of the wrecked Spaniards had not been of the friendliest,[4] the good relations between Ireland and Spain still continued; and when Philip died, his successor sent Daguilla and his army to aid O'Donnell and O'Neill. After the disaster of Kinsale many of the Irish chiefs sought safety in flight, and the vessels which brought back to their own country the vanquished Spaniards carried thither also some of the best blood of Munster. Some were of the old Irish stock, such as the O'Sullivans and the MacCarthys; others, like Burke and Barry and Lacy, were from an Anglo-Norman source.[5] They expected to return with O'Donnell. But that chief was soon struck down by a treacherous hand; O'Neill also had meanwhile been overcome; no further Spanish help was sent; and instead of the exiles returning, their number was added to by the flight of the Earls and the Plantation of Ulster.

The fate of some of these exiles we know. The Earl of Tyrconnell, his brother Caffer, and the young Baron of Dungannon, soon died at Rome; MacMahon and Maguire died at Genoa; and the old Earl of Tyrone, with sightless eyes and broken heart, lived on till 1616, when another grave in the Franciscan church was opened to receive his mortal remains. His son Brian was strangled at Brussels; his son Henry died in Flanders, a Colonel in the Spanish army; his son John was also killed in the same service; and the young Earl of Tyrconnell died at sea.[6] The fate of many others we do not know. Most of them took service in the Spanish army; and in the long struggle between Spain and the Dutch under Farnese and Portocarero, in the Flemish towns or behind the walls of Amiens, the valour of these Irish exiles was ever conspicuous, and the post of danger was assigned to them almost as a matter of course.[7] The truce of twelve years, entered into, in 1609, between Spain and the United Provinces, released them from active service, and a few, at least, sought

[4] Captain Cuellar's *Narrative*.
[5] *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. II., pp. 64-9.
[6] Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 175, 253, 323, 329.
[7] O'Connor's *Military History*, pp. 31-68.

employment elsewhere. In the desolating Thirty Years War, which turned so much of Germany into a desert, we find Irish officers in the army of Wallenstein; and when Wallenstein, proud of his great victories, had outgrown the position of a subject, and thrown off allegiance to the Emperor, it was an Irish officer (Butler) who plotted his destruction, and another Irish officer (Devereux) who struck him the fatal blow.[8]

Meanwhile the disgrace of Kinsale rankled in their hearts and wistfully did they look across the sea, hoping some day to use at home the skill and experience acquired on foreign fields. With the rebellion of 1641 the time came at last, and the O'Neills, and Maguires, and MacMahons, of the older Irish stock, and Butler and Preston of the newer, hastened home. Discipline and union among them might have effected much; but from the beginning there were jealousies and divisions; and the confusion was increased by the intrigues of Ormond and the uncompromising attitude of the Nuncio. Cromwell soon stamped out the rebellion, and after the war 40,000 Irish soldiers again took service in foreign armies.[9] The greater part again went to Spain; but not all. Some went to Venice and Austria, and some went to France; and in the war which the latter country waged with Spain, and which ended with the Treaty of the Pyrenees, there were Irish soldiers on both sides, and sometimes they met in actual conflict.[10] Worse still was the fate of those other exiles who had been shipped off to the West Indian Islands. Their number is given by Sir William Petty as 8,000; but this figure is certainly too low, as Father Grace found in the various islands, in 1666, 12,000 Irish; and, even as early as the year 1656, it is recorded that already many had died.[11] They were strictly prohibited from practising their religion; they could not have firearms or own a boat; the lash was often administered; they were held in such contempt that the negroes despised them as white slaves; and in the parching sun they

[8] Gardiner's *Thirty Years War*, pp. 151, 177.
[9] *Vid.* cap 19.
[10] O'Connor, pp. 69-71.
[11] Moran's *Persecutions under Cromwell*, pp. 174-83.

worked without shirt, stocking, or shoe.[12] Such hardships as these rapidly thinned their ranks, and the white slaves soon disappeared.

During this period, while the power of Spain had declined, the power of France had grown. Torn by dissensions, ruled by incompetent sovereigns, for a time the latter country was weak; but unity and strength came under the vigorous rule of Henry of Navarre. To compare him, as Michelet does, with David and Charlemagne, and call him the chief of Christianity, is absurd,[13] for it is doubtful if he cared much for any religion, and his morals were certainly not above reproach. But he did much for his own country and at his death, France, both at home and abroad, had established a superiority over her rival. The preponderance became greater under the rule of Richelieu and Mazarin,[14] and was especially evident if the military strength of the two nations be compared. With the battles of Grandson and Morat, where Swiss infantry overwhelmed Burgundian cavalry, the days of the mail-clad knights in battle passed away, and the prestige of the Swiss pikemen and the Swiss mercenary had begun.[15] In the Italian wars, the Swiss method of fighting was adopted, and improved; the Spanish formation became one of dense masses, with pikemen in the centre, and musketeers on the wings; the discipline, courage, and steadiness of the common soldier, and the skill of the leaders did the rest, and, for more than a century, the Spanish infantry was reputed the first in the world. At the battle of Rocroi (1643), Spanish courage was again shown as of old, but Spanish tactics were proved to be obsolete. The alertness of Conde was greater than that of his antagonist, and so was that of his infantry and artillery, and a crushing victory was the result.[16] All men could see that the star of Spain had paled, and that of France had mounted in the heavens. The disparity increased as time passed; and, with such generals as Conde, Turenne, and Vauban,

[12] Saintsbury's *Calendar—Colonial Series*, 1574-1660, pp. 481-7; *America and the West Indies*, pp. 529-30.
[13] *Histoire de France*, Vol. II., pp. 168-9.
[14] Hume's *Spain, its Greatness and Decay*, Maps.
[15] *Switzerland—Story of the Nations*, pp. 208-13.
[16] Michelet, Vol. XII., pp. 278-81.

Louis became Louis the Great King, and France the greatest monarchy in the world. To this great power the eyes of the more ambitious among the Irish began to be turned, and the stream of emigration was diverted from Spain to France. It swelled in volume under the Stuart kings; and within the 50 years which followed the Treaty of Limerick, 450,000 Irish soldiers died in the service of France. [17]

Those who left Limerick with Sarsfield (the Wild Geese, as they came to be called) were destined for the invasion of England, and were all assembled at Brest in May, 1692. But the French navy, which was to have destroyed the combined English and Dutch fleets, was itself defeated off La Hogue, and the invasion of England became impossible. [18] Nominally, the Irish troops were still the soldiers of James; but, in reality, they were the soldiers of France, hired to fight her battles. Mountcashel's Brigade was made up of three regiments, those of Mountcashel, Dillon and Clare. The remaining force was divided into 12 regiments, of which two were cavalry—Shelden's and Galmoy's; the foot being those of Clancarty, Athlone, Charlemont, Dublin and Limerick, the Marine Regiment, the King's and Queen's regiments of Guards, and two regiments of dismounted dragoons; there were also two companies of King James's body-guard, and some supernumeraries. There were complaints indeed that officers had been depressed in rank, and that in many cases soldiers had been drafted into other regiments and so separated from the officers who had led them in Ireland. [19] But these were mere ruffles on the surface and in no way interfered with the efficiency of the troops. Nor was it long until their services were required. The rapid advance of French power had become a menace to Europe. The Protestant sovereigns trembled for their religion; the Catholic, for their territories; and in the League of Augsburg both Catholic and Protestants united against the common enemy; and such was the strength of France that she seemed not unequal to the

[17] MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 599.
[18] Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 354-7.
[19] O'Connor, pp. 194-200, 371-4; O'Callaghan, pp. 1-142.

struggle. If she had been, in 1690, defeated at the Boyne, she had, on her side, defeated England at sea; and, on land, she had beaten the Dutch and Germans at Fleurus, and Catinat won the battle of Staffarda. In the next year, as a set off to the defeat of Aughrim, France captured Mons; and when the Irish Brigade was ready to march from Brest, the fight was raging at the same time in Catalonia, in Germany, in Piedmont and in the Netherlands.

In the latter country some Irish troops under Luxemburg earned distinction near Namur, and so also did another body near Spire.[20] More important events occurred in the south. Catinat held the advanced posts of Susa and Pignerol, in Piedmont, and, with the passes of the Alps open, and the towns of Dauphine garrisoned, he felt secure. But, in the summer of 1692, the Duke of Savoy got 20,000 troops from Austria, under Prince Eugene, one of the greatest generals of the age. It was resolved to leave Catinat undisturbed at Susa, and crossing the Alps lower down, to burst into Dauphine in his rear. Under the guidance of the Vaudois this was done. These hardy people had long been settled in Piedmont. Their religious tenets were akin to those of the Huguenots, and, in consequence, they had suffered much from the Duke of Savoy, and from the King of France. But Savoy and France were now at war, and the Vaudois guided the Austrians and Savoyards through the Alpine passes. On their line of march Guillestre and Embrun were garrisoned by Irish troops, and at both places a stubborn resistance was encountered. Time was thus given the French to strengthen the neighbouring towns; and the Austrians and their allies were compelled to recross the Alps and set up their winter quarters in Italy, where, in the next year, they encountered Catinat himself at Marsiglia. In the battle which followed, the Duke of Savoy, being in supreme command, disregarded the advice of Eugene, both as to the preparations for battle, and as to the disposition of his army, with the result that Catinat won an important victory, and Eugene, after suffering terrible losses, crossed the Po. With Catinat there were 6,000 Irish who shared fully in the victory gained. But they also shared fully in the losses, for Maxwell, who

[20] O'Connor, pp. 205-8.

fought at Athlone, and Wauchope, and Lord Clare, were among the dead, and the same fate befel many hundreds of the rank and file.[21]

Nor were these the only losses the Irish sustained in that year. At the battle of Landen, Sarsfield held high command on the left wing of Luxemburg's army. With the Duke of Berwick, and with troops entirely French, he endeavoured to capture the village of Neerwinden, and, as the position was of great importance, the English under King William made a desperate resistance. In the first attack it was captured by the French; but they were driven out, and Berwick was taken prisoner. A second and third attack followed, and finally it remained in French hands. In the third attack, Sarsfield fell, mortally wounded. He was carried to the village of Hay, where he died of his wounds, a few days later, and we can well believe how bitterly he regretted that his last battle had not been fought at the head of his own countrymen and for the land he loved so well.[22]

The three years that followed contained nothing striking to record. On the Rhine, Mountcashel was employed, and died there in 1695; Dillon's regiment saw service in Spain; and in Piedmont the Irish with Catinat were not idle. His outposts had been often attacked by the Vaudois, and against these he sent the Irish. These hardy children of the Alps they hated as the enemies of France, as the friends of England, above all, as the special friends of the hated Cromwell, who had relieved their wants and obtained toleration of their religion, even while he was murdering the Irish Catholics, and banishing them from their homes.[23] The Irish soldiers carried out Catinat's orders with a will; pursued the Vaudois over rivers and rocks, and up the mountains; and, so effectually did they hunt them down, that, in these Alpine solitudes, the very name of Irish became one to excite terror and dismay.[24]

With the Peace of Ryswick the war was ended, and for the first

[21] O'Connor, pp. 210-22; O'Callaghan, pp. 177-8; Voltaire, *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.*, pp. 165-6.
[22] O'Callaghan, pp. 174-5; Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 437-40.
[23] Gardiner's *History of the Protectorate*, Vol. III., pp. 414-18.
[24] O'Callaghan, pp. 180-2; O'Connor, pp. 224-30.

PATRICK SARSFIELD, EARL OF LUCAN

AFTER LADY BINGHAM

time William was recognised King of England by France.[25] The vast resources of that great nation were nearly exhausted. Retrenchment became necessary, and in consequence the army was reduced, and so many of the Irish soldiers were dismissed that a force of more than 18,000 was reduced to less than a third of its strength.[26] The Irish thus sent adrift were in a cruel dilemma. To return to Ireland was death, for so the law had decreed. To get employment in other countries would be difficult, since they had fought for France; and, in France itself, it was impossible to obtain civil employment; they were soldiers, and knew only the soldier's trade. Some made their way to Spain, and were taken into its army; others drifted to Austria; others got a miserable allowance from King James; others appealed to Louis, and not always in vain; while many became outlaws, and, as such, infested the roads between Paris and St. Germains.[27] Those who were retained in the French army had not many years to wait until their swords were again required; for a new war broke out, even more exhausting than that which the Peace of Ryswick had terminated, and in which all Europe was engaged. The prize was nothing less than Spain and all its dependencies, and the chief antagonists were Louis and Leopold, Emperor of Germany. Each was closely related to the dying King of Spain; Louis wanted the throne for his grandson; Leopold for his son; and for years, round the dying bed of the childless monarch, intrigues and counter-intrigues went on, until at last French agents conquered, and Charles II. of Spain willed his vast dominions to the French aspirant, Philip, Duke of Anjou, who, in 1700, ascended the Spanish throne as Philip V. But this arrangement neither England nor Austria would tolerate. They were joined by Holland, Denmark, and Prussia, and with these powers on the one side, and France, Spain, Bavaria and Savoy on the other,[28] the war of the Spanish Succession began.

In generalship the French were deficient. The days of Turenne,

[25] Macaulay, Vol. II., pp. 626-30.
[26] O'Callaghan, pp. 76, 84, 88, 139.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 188-91.
[28] The Princess of Savoy had just married the King of Spain, and hence the attitude of the Duke of Savoy.

and Conde, and Luxemburg, were gone. Catinat, Vendome, and Villars were certainly men of ability; but Tallard and Villeroy were wholly unfit for great commands; and at Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Malplaquet France suffered some of the most terrible defeats which ever befell her arms. But in no case could disaster be attributed to the Irish, and everywhere, in defeat as well as in victory, they fought well. At Luzzarra their valour was conspicuous, as it was at Cassano, at Spire, and at the first battle of Blenheim. But their most noted service during the whole war was rendered at Cremona. The place was held by Villeroy with a garrison of 7,000 men, of whom 600 were Irish—the regiments of Dillon and Burke. An Italian priest within the walls acted the traitor, and opened negotiations with Eugene, then at Mantua. Villeroy was unsuspecting, and knew nothing of the enemy's movements until one of the gates was opened, and the Austrians were already within the walls. When he prepared to meet the danger, he was soon overpowered and made prisoner. The Austrians had entered in strength at St. Margaret's gate on the eastern side of the town, and were making their way across to the Po gate, which was on the south side, and was of supreme importance, as it commanded the bridge of boats across the river. Here the Irish took their stand. They were the first to hear the alarm, and, rushing out of their beds, some in their shirts, they grasped their arms, and prepared to defend the position with their lives. Mahony was in command. He constructed barricades, took all the advantages which the shelter of houses gave, and the defences near the gate, and each time the enemy advanced, they were mowed down by a murderous fire. In vastly superior numbers they attacked in front as well as in flank. They charged with cavalry; but the Irish formed squares which the cavalry found to be impenetrable, and horse and man recoiled from these living ramparts of fire and steel. By twelve o'clock all the town except that near the Po gate had fallen into Austrian hands; Villeroy was a prisoner; the next in command had been killed at the head of his men; his successor shared Villeroy's fate. Prince Eugene asked Villeroy to command these stubborn Irish to surrender; but Villeroy answered he was a prisoner and in

no position to give orders. An Irish officer in the Austrian service, named MacDonnell, was then despatched to bribe Mahony's men with offers of military employment and higher pay; but MacDonnell was denounced as a suborner and even taken prisoner. For hours after noon the heroic band fought on. The houses were in flames or battered down, the streets running with blood, the whole town a mass of ruins. But the contest still raged; and at last, when 2,000 of the Austrians had fallen, Eugene withdrew by the gate of St. Margaret, leaving the Irish in possession of Cremona. Of the 600 who commenced the fight 223 had fallen. The survivors were everywhere the theme of praise; Mahony was promoted Colonel; his officers got an increase of pay; and the fame of the Irish soldiers was spread throughout Europe. [29]

In other contests they were not able to turn defeat into victory; but they were able to show their bravery, and their fidelity to their flag; and everywhere in this widely extended campaign their record was that of gallant soldiers, at Blenheim and at Ramillies, at Oudenarde and at Malplaquet; against the Camisards on the slopes of the Cevennes; under the Duke of Orleans at Turin; with Vendome in Flanders and in Italy; with Villars on the Rhine; with their own countryman Dillon at Toulon; with Berwick in Dauphine and in the passes of the Alps. [30] Mahony, the hero of Cremona, who joined the Spanish army, covered himself with glory during these years. His defence of Alicant against the English was heroic; he was at the head of his dragoons at Almanza; he captured Alcira and Carthagena; he put down a revolt in the Island of Sicily; and so highly were his services rated that he was appointed lieutenant-general in the Spanish army, and honoured with the title of Count of Castile. [31]

With the Peace of Utrecht, followed by that of Rastadt (1714), the war was ended, and for many years further opportunities of acquiring military renown were wanting to the exiled Irish.

[29] O'Callaghan, pp. 244-9; Voltaire, pp. 207-8; *Mem. de Berwick* Vol. I., pp. 425. With characteristic Stuart ingratitude, Berwick neve mentions the Irish, though even Voltaire does.

[30] O'Callaghan, pp. 285-92, 313-16, 338-9, 345-9, 321-2, 326-7.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 330-1, 354-8.

How many of them died during these years; how many remained in 1714 of those who left Ireland with Sarsfield and Mountcashel, it is impossible to ascertain. Sarsfield, we know, received his death wound at Neerwinden; the fourth Lord Clare and Colonel O'Carroll at Marsiglia; Lord Mountcashel died on the Rhine; Richard Talbot fell at Luzzara; Colonel Magennis was killed at Spire; the fifth Lord Clare at Ramillies; the only son of Lord Galmoy at Malplaquet; Colonel Fitzgerald died at Ghent of the wounds received at Oudenarde; Gordon O'Neill, with the rank of brigadier general, died in 1704; Walter Burke, the defender of Aughrim Castle, after going through the whole war of Succession, retired to Spain and died at Barcelona.[32] But what of the inferior officers, and what of the rank and file? Death came to them in many lands; by the waters of the Rhine or Danube, the Ebro or the Guadalquiver; where the Adige and the Mincio flow; amid the passes of the Alps; or the sea-washed shores of Valentia or Catalonia. Some fell amid the shock of battle, and in the soil of Lombardy or Piedmont, of Flanders or Alsace, they found a grave. Or it may be that even a grave was denied them, and that their bleached bones remained on the field where they had fought so well. Others died in the hospitals of the wounds they had received in battle; others of sickness or old age; but all far from the land they loved best; and except in rare cases, without wife or mother to comfort them at the last, with strange sights before their eyes and the tongue of the stranger in their ears.

Not the least of their troubles during life was the sight of so many of their relatives and friends wandering over the Continent in destitution. What one woman could do for them was done by the exiled English Queen; but her own resources were insufficient to provide for a tithe of those who were in need, and to many others she appealed. To the Bishop of Valence for the wife and children of Lieutenant MacCarthy; to the Archbishop of Bordeaux for two priests; to the Archbishop of Cambrai for the wife and children of Lieutenant Donoghue.[33] Similar letters she wrote to the Archbishops

[32] O'Callaghan, pp. 39, 221, 41, 150, 108, 151.

[33] *Calendar of the Stuart Papers at Windsor*, Vol. I., pp. 87, 95, 100, 107.

of Sens, Rouen and Arles, to the Bishops of Cahors, Tournai, Rennes, St. Omer; to Cardinal Barberini, and to many others. Sometimes she requested free education for an Irish girl, or admission to a convent; sometimes free education for a boy who desired to become a priest; to Cardinal D'Estrees she wrote on behalf of Gordon O'Neill, who had lost his regiment in France and was going to Spain; from Cardinal Barberini she wanted favour shown to Father Plunkett, nephew to the late Primate of Armagh; and when Father Kennedy was going to Spain, to beg for his poor countrymen, she warmly recommended his mission to Cardinal Portocarrero. [34] Her efforts were indeed ceaseless; yet there must have been many who suffered want and could not be relieved, and the end of the War of Succession swelled the ranks of the destitute and the unemployed

Nor was it likely that fresh employment would soon be obtained. Exhausted Europe wanted rest; Louis XIV. was dead; the poor attempt of the Pretender in Scotland had failed, and by treaty with England, France expelled him from her dominions. From Spain alone was there danger. Under the vigorous rule of Alberoni an attempt was made to recover her lost Italian possessions, and a naval expedition was sent to Sicily. But the forces against Spain were too great. France, Austria, England and Holland formed the Quadruple Alliance, the object of which was to maintain peace, and especially to keep Spain in awe. She was, therefore, compelled to yield, and to dismiss Alberoni from his office of first minister, and even to expel him from her dominions; and when his successor, Ripperda, also adopted a vigorous foreign policy, and threatened the peace of Europe, he too was dismissed and exiled.[35] Thus was the peace kept, and during these years the Irish soldiers abroad had to sheathe their swords. But with the death of the Emperor, Charles VI. their services were again required, for another great war of succession was at hand. Dying without male heirs, the Emperor, by an instrument called the Pragmatic Sanction, left his dominions to his daughter Maria Theresa, wife of the Duke of Lorraine, and to

[34] *Stuart Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 121, 168, 183.
[35] Major Hume's *Spain, its Greatness and Decay*, pp. 354-5, 366-9.

this arrangement the assent had been obtained of all the great powers of Europe. But no sooner was the Emperor dead than Frederick of Prussia cast covetous eyes on Silesia; Spain wanted Milan; the Elector of Bavaria laid claim to the Empire itself by virtue of descent. Frederick was first to move, and, gaining the battle of Molwitz, was soon master of Silesia. Under advice from England, that province was ceded to him by Maria Theresa, and for the time he dropped out of the war. But in the meantime the Elector of Bavaria, aided by France and Saxony, captured Passau and Linz and Prague, and in 1742 was crowned Emperor at Frankfurt with the title of Charles VII. [36] In the next year, France was joined by Spain and Sicily, while Austria was joined by England and Holland and Sardinia; and in Italy and on the Rhine, the contest was continued with varying success and indecisive results, As to the expedition of the young Pretender, its result was a temporary success, followed by the crushing disaster of Culloden. [37]

But in Flanders the French army covered itself with glory. Marshal Saxe, accompanied by Louis XV., and at the head of a well-equipped army, crossed the frontier in 1744, and took Courtrai, Menin, and Ypres; nor could the English and Austrians at Brussels do anything to stay his march. But, in the meantime, the Austrian general, Prince Charles of Lorraine, crossed the Rhine, overran Alsace and Lorraine, and, with 60,000 men, was advancing west, and even menaced Paris. Leaving Saxe in Flanders with 45,000 men to hold what had been won, Louis reached Metz and established his headquarters there; but even more important than this, was a treaty entered into between France and Prussia, by which Frederick, jealous of the Austrian successes, and fearful for Silesia, entered Bohemia and menaced Prague. Prince Charles found it necessary to withdraw his army from the Rhine and make head against Frederick, whom he soon compelled to fall back on Saxony; and the French, relieved of the pressure on their eastern frontier, were free in the next year to resume the campaign in Flanders. [38] Early in May they laid siege to Tournai, and the English, Dutch, and

[36] Voltaire, *Le Siecle de Louis XV.*, pp 55-9.
[37] O'Callaghan, pp. 447-55.
[38] Voltaire, pp. 79-84.

Austrians marched from Brussels to its relief. Saxe advanced to meet them. Leaving 18,000 men to continue the siege and 6,000 to guard the bridges of the Scheldt, he took up his position at Fontenoy, a small village on the right banks of the Scheldt, about eight miles from Tournai. Between two woods, De Barri's on the left, and the wood of Fontenoy on the right, the village itself stands on a rising ground, which slopes upward from the river. To the right, not far from the river bank, was the village of St. Antoin; to the left, behind De Barri's wood, was the village of Ramecroix. Both in front and flank the French position was protected by redoubts, manned by heavy guns; and near St. Antoin, on the southern bank of the Scheldt, another battery had been placed; so that an enemy advancing in that direction, and endeavouring to turn the French right, would be assailed in front and flank by the artillery from the redoubts; and when he reached the river, he would again be assailed from the other side. Somewhere near St. Antoin, King Louis and his son took their stand as spectators of the battle. The French and Swiss were at the centre and right, the Irish at the extreme left, under the command of Lord Clare. Marshal Noailles and the Duke of Richelieu were next in command to Saxe, who was himself so ill for part of the day that he was unable to go on horseback. The Duke of Cumberland was in supreme command of the enemy, his right under General Ingoldsby, his left, where the Dutch were placed, under the Prince of Waldeck. In numbers Cumberland's force was superior—53,000 to 40,000; but on the French side there was a decided superiority of cannon—110 to 40 guns. Saxe was, no doubt, a greater general than his opponent, but Cumberland was by no means deficient in talent, still less in bravery; and the soldiers in both armies were seasoned troops.

On the 11th of May, at four in the morning, the English artillery opened fire, which was continued till nine o'clock, and then Cumberland's whole line advanced. Ingoldsby was to attack a redoubt on the French left; but he failed—failed even in courage—and was afterwards dismissed the English army. Waldeck and his Dutch showed more courage, but were equally unsuccessful. The French redoubts on the right were not to be carried; and before the terrible artillery fire from these and from the battery across

the river the Dutch recoiled, and showed no disposition to renew the attack. In the centre, Cumberland, at the head of the English and Hanoverians, did better. With 15,000 men and 20 pieces of cannon he advanced slowly, as if on parade; and as he approached the French, his guns opened fire. Against this great body, massed in close formation, and advancing with irresistible strides, regiment after regiment was sent; but they were met by the fire of the English guns and by a murderous rolling fire of musketry, which was incessant, and each regiment which attacked was driven back with loss. Still the English advanced, closing up their ranks as gaps were opened in them by the foe, and, in spite of all obstacles, they continued their march, past Fontenoy itself, past the first and second French lines; and if at this moment the Dutch at the left had co-operated with them, the battle was gained. Affairs were so critical that Saxe sent two urgent messages to the King to retire beyond the Scheldt, but he refused to leave, and evidently did not yet despair. With the French reserve were four pieces of cannon, and Colonel Lally, an Irish officer, suggested that these be brought up and turned on the front of the English column, while at the same time from all quarters, from front and flank, both infantry and cavalry were to fall upon it, The advice was considered good by the Duke of Richelieu, and adopted by the King, and in this manner Cumberland's column was attacked.

It was at this point that the Irish, hitherto inactive, were ordered to attack. The bitter memories of wrong were in their hearts; the enemies of their race and of their religion were before them; and on the right wing of Cumberland's column they threw themselves with fury. They were the infantry regiments of Clare, Dillon, Bulkeley, Rothe, Berwick and Lally, with the cavalry regiment of Fitzjames. As they advanced up the slope they were met by a destructive fire. Lord Clare was struck; Dillon fell mortally wounded. The surviving Irish fired a deadly volley into the enemy's ranks, and with a maddening cry of "Remember Limerick and Saxon perfidy," they charged with the bayonet. Through the openings made in the enemy's column by the four pieces of cannon the French cavalry dashed; the Carabineers and the household troops aided the Irish; the regiments of Normandy

struck in on the French right, Cumberland's column fell back, shattered and broken, beyond Fontenoy and up the slope; and, after eight hours fighting, the battle was won. The English and their allies were not pursued, and fell back in good order, having lost nearly 8,000 killed and wounded, more than 2,000 prisoners, and nearly all their guns.

On their side the French had lost over 7,000, so that if the vanquished had suffered severely the loss of the victors was little less. Of the Irish 98 of their officers and 400 of their men were either killed or wounded. Lally was named brigadier on the field of battle by the King, and others of the officers got pensions and promotions; and Louis, the day after battle, personally thanked each corps for the services they had rendered to him. These favours were, no doubt, gracefully acknowledged as they were gracefully conferred; but it was a still greater satisfaction to the Irish to remember that they had turned defeat into victory; that they had brought disaster on their ancient enemies, and revenged themselves for the violated treaty; and, in the whole history of the Irish Brigade, no day was so honoured, by the exiles, as the glorious day of Fontenoy. [39]

Only a few of the Irish joined the expedition of the Young Pretender in the next year. The greater part continued in Belgium until Belgium was completely conquered by Saxe, [40] and until, finally, by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the combatants came to terms. The husband of Maria Theresa was recognised Emperor; Frederick was left in possession of Silesia; England and France gave back what they had conquered; and again Europe was at rest. And not until the Seven Years War broke out were Irish soldiers again sought. But they fought in diminished numbers, for it was now specially difficult to replenish their shattered ranks. The Stuart cause had become hopeless, [41] and thus one object for which some at least enlisted in foreign service was gone. In Ireland

[39] O'Callaghan, pp. 350-67; Voltaire, pp. 92-108; Michelet, Vol. XVI., pp. 243-9; Martin, *Histoire de France*, Vol. XV., p. 283; Hamont's "Lally-Tollendal," pp. 27-8.

[40] *Ibid*, pp. 474-9.

[41] Lang's *Young Pretender*, pp. 74, 252-3.

itself some faint beginnings of toleration appeared. The Penal Code was less savagely administered, and in part not administered at all; the rigorous exclusion of the Catholics from the English army ceased; and those who had been admitted to its ranks were found to be as faithful and brave as others.[42] Concurrently with this new turn of affairs, a law was passed, in 1756, making it death to enlist in the French service, and for an Irishman in the French service to land in Ireland.[43] These laws were rigourously enforced, and difficult to evade; and the number of the Wild Geese who crossed the sea became less every year. But the foreign Irish regiments had their share of fighting, and everywhere acquitted themselves well. In the fatal battle of Rosbach, surrounded as they were by cowardice and incompetence, the cavalry regiment of Fitzjames alone made headway against the Prussians, and merited the praise of the great Frederick.[44] The Emperor of Germany declared that the more Irish in his army the better, for an "Irish coward was an uncommon character."[45] And the Bourbon prince, who afterwards became King of France as Louis XVIII. presented the small remains of the Irish Brigade in 1792 with a new standard as a pledge of his remembrance. On the flag was an Irish harp, and the significant words: "1692-1792, Semper et Ubique fidelis."[46] The honour was richly earned; and, if we do not know where so many of these gallant exiles fell, we know at least that they died at their posts and were ever faithful to their flag.

In the higher ranks many Irish names survived, and acquired great distinction throughout Europe, not only in a military capacity but in civil positions as well. The sixth Lord Clare and Richard Cusack were marshals of France; Dillon was governor of Toulon; O'Hara governor of Senegal; Richard Talbot, third Earl of Tyrconnell, after a distinguished military career, was appointed French Ambassador at the Court of Frederick the Great. MacMahon

[42] O'Callaghan, p. 608.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 502-3.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 583, 594.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 601.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 634.

was French Ambassador to the United States.[47] The career of Peter Lacy in the Russian service reads like a romance. From a subordinate position he rose to the rank of field-marshal. It was said that he taught the Russians to beat Charles XII., he assisted in his defeat at Pultowa; then he beat the Poles; at the head of great armies he beat the Turks and Swedes, and finally became governor of Livonia.[48] His relative, another Peter Lacy, was a field-marshal in the Austrian service, as was Count Browne, a native of Limerick, who was Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Maria Theresa; another Austrian field-marshal was O'Donnell. Count O'Rourke, about 1760, commanded the Russian army; Count O'Reilly commanded (in 1794), the Spanish army of the Pyrenees; Mahony was Spanish Ambassador at Vienna; Richard Wall, Spanish Ambassador at London.[49] At Vienna, at a St. Patrick's Day Banquet, given by Mahony to those only of Irish descent, there were present, besides Count Lacy, President of the Council of War, six generals, four chiefs of the Grand Cross, two governors, several knights military, six staff officers and four privy councillors.[50] This was for Vienna alone. If we add the other great men of Irish descent throughout the Austrian dominions, and those also in France and Spain, the list might be indefinitely prolonged.

One of the most illustrious of the Irish exiles was Count Lally, who so distinguished himself at Fontenoy. His whole family had been devoted to the Stuarts. An uncle had sat for the borough of Tuam in James's Parliament at Dublin;[51] members of his family had fought against William; and when Limerick was lost, confiscation and exile followed. Like so many others of the Irish, the Lallys found employment in the French army; and when the Seven Years War broke out the Lally who fought at Fontenoy was already lieutenant-general. In 1758, he was sent to command an expedition against the English in the East Indies, and arrived there in April of

[47] D'Alton's *King James's Army List*, pp 88, 657, 822; O'Callaghan, pp. 499-500.
[48] O'Callaghan, pp. 480-98.
[49] D'Alton, pp. 164, 371, 553, 556, 758, 930; Major Hume's *Spain*, pp. 386-8.
[50] O'Callaghan, p. 602.
[51] Davis, *The Patriot Parliament of* 1689—List of Members.

the following year. From being a mere contest between rival commercial companies, the struggle had assumed national proportions, and was to determine whether it was England or France which would be the dominant power in India. Lally declared that he would drive the English out of the country, and if he had got the supplies he asked for it may be that he would have succeeded. Certainly he was a brave man, and in the taking of Fort St. David, and the victory of Cuddalore he showed capacity for military command.[52] But he failed at Madras, chiefly owing to the failure of Bussy, the Company's general, to co-operate with him. Other reverses followed. There was thus disunion among the military chiefs, want of money from France, corruption among the Company's servants, peculation among the military contractors, until Lally declared in disgust that since he came to India he had not seen the shadow of an honest man. The result was easy to foresee. He lost the battle of Wandewash, and after a gallant defence, had to surrender Pondicherry, and was himself taken prisoner to Madras. He was brought to England in 1762. Bussy meantime had been plotting his ruin, and when Lally crossed over from England to France, he found himself, on the representations of his enemy accused of extortions, oppressions and abuses of authority; and on these charges he was thrown into the Bastile. There he remained for four years, when he was brought forth for trial and condemned. And, that no indignity should be spared him, he was led forth to public execution in a scavenger's coat, with a gag in his mouth. His son, Lally-Tolendal of the Revolution days, had his sentence annulled in 1778 by the King and Council. Thus was tardy justice done to the memory of a brave man, and young Lally himself by his filial devotion, by his loyalty to his sovereign and by the honours he attained, added fresh lustre to the name he bore. [53]

[52] Michelet, Vol. XVII., p. 21. Michelet admits his bravery, but denies his capacity to lead; he was but "un fou furieux qui n'avait que de la bravoure."

[53] O'Callaghan, pp. 509-77; Carlyle's *French Revolution*; Voltaire, *Le Siecle de Louis XV.*, pp. 226-34; Hamont, pp. 296-316.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Writers and Schools.

In the long period of strife which followed the death of Brian Boru, the greater part of the monastic schools decayed. But Armagh still remained, and the very year the Anglo-Normans came, the Ard Righ provided for it an annual donation of ten cows, so that its professors would be enabled "to instruct the youths of Erin in learning."[1] The Norman invasion shattered the hopes of brighter days. Such men as de Courcy, de Cogan, and le Gros, had little respect for schools, or even churches, which had been raised by Irish hands, and in the wars which followed, the monastic schools disappeared. The bardic schools fared better, and in the next four centuries, it was in these that Irish Scholars were for the most part to be found. The Anglo-Normans, indeed, did not love these schools. The Statute of Kilkenny penalised the calling of the bards, and prohibited them within the Pale, English officials regarded them as enemies of England, and by Parliament and Viceroy they were treated as such.[2] But these penal enactments could not be enforced outside the Pale, nor with much effect even within its bounds, and the bards lived on. So bitter an enemy as Spenser admitted that, even in translation, their pieces savoured of "sweet wit and good invention," and were sprinkled with some pretty flowers.[3] But they produced no

[1] *Four Masters.*

[2] Carew, *Papers*, Vol. I., 410; Vol. II., p. 369; Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 227.

[3] Spenser's *View*, p. 124.

work of striking merit; and a writer who can speak with intimate and extensive knowledge has declared that in all they wrote—genealogies, religious meditations, clan history, elegies—there is a lack of initiative and imagination.[4] They were patriots, or at least thought they were, and certainly they hated English institutions, and English domination. But their patriotism was provincial and narrow. They had no conception of a great national struggle; they did nothing to soften local jealousies; and if they praised their own chiefs they passed by the valorous deeds of others. The poets of Wicklow, for instance, sang of the O'Byrnes, of the heroism of Fiach MacHugh, and the beauty of his wife; the bard of the O'Briens sang the praises of the English-made Earl of Thomond; and O'Clery recalled the glories of the O'Donnells.[5] But, in the midst of wreck and ruin, there was no passionate pleading for unity and discipline. The discord among the chiefs, which involved the overthrow of the great Earl of Tyrone, had its counterpart in the Contention of the Poets, in which the northern and southern bards flung sarcasms at each other; and the treachery of Nial Garve was paralleled by the poet Aengus O'Daly, who was employed by Carew and Mountjoy to blacken the characters of the Irish chiefs, and this at a time when Carew and Mountjoy were turning Ireland into a desert.[6]

In the 16th century there were many lay colleges, such as Waterford, Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, and Cashel, in which the sons of the gentry and chiefs were educated.[7] How the secular priests of the time were trained is not clear. Some, perhaps, in the colleges conducted by themselves, others in the colleges conducted by the religious orders. It has been suggested that the best ecclesiastical education was obtained in these latter colleges;[8] and it is noteworthy that a large proportion of the bishops of the time were taken from the religious orders.[9] But, if these schools sent out bishops, they sent out few writers of eminence. A Dominican wrote the Annals of his Order down to 1274; a Franciscan a Commentary

[4] Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 465.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 472-6, 515.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 476-8.
[7] Mahaffy, *An Epoch in Irish History*, p. 11.
[8] Healy's *Centenary History of Maynooth College*, pp. 11-13.
[9] Knox. *Notes on the Archdiocese of Tuam*, p. 117.

on the Four Books of the Sentences; Pembridge and Clynn wrote Annals; Magraiden Lives of Irish Saints; O'Fihely, who was Archbishop of Tuam and a Franciscan, wrote a Commentary on the works of Duns Scotus. [10]

But the great glory of the Franciscans, and indeed of the Irish schools was Duns Scotus himself. Such fame did he acquire that nations have contended for the place of his birth. According to Dempster, he was born about 1274, at Dunse, in Berwickshire; according to Leland, at Dunstane, in Northumberland; according to Wadding, in the county of Down, in Ireland. This latter statement is now proved to be the correct one, for a contemporary document has been discovered, which describes him as coming from the Irish province. [11] He joined the Franciscans at an early age, and was subsequently professor at Oxford, at the University of Paris, and at Cologne, where he died in 1308. These were the days of Scholasticism, and on questions of theology and philosophy there was a long-standing rivalry between the Franciscan and Dominican Orders. But the vast labours of St. Thomas had turned the scale in favour of the Dominicans. The extent of his knowledge, the profundity of his thoughts, the courage with which he approached the most abstruse questions, and the skill with which he handled them, have never been surpassed. He shirked no difficulty, made clear what was obscure, sounded to their very depths such questions as grace, predestination, free-will, and many others, questions in the discussion and explanation of which the keenest intellects have lost their way. Who could compare with him who had traversed, with the light of the sun, the whole field of philosophy, and built up a system which even genius has often attacked, but has never been able to destroy? And yet even with such a giant intellect, Scotus bears comparison.

On many points they agreed. Both were obedient children of the Church. In philosophy both looked to Aristotle as their master;

[10] Ware's *Writers*.

[11] Scotus, *Opera Omnia*—(Wadding's Edition), Vol. I., pp. 1-5; Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July, 1880, Feb.-March, 1881; Rev. Geo. O'Neill, F.R.U.I., in *New Ireland Review*, May, 1900.

and on the question of universals, which then agitated the schools, both maintained the realist opinion that universals, such as genus and species, outside ideas and the words conveying them, have an objective reality. But when these questions were passed, they had reached the parting of the ways. Scotus relied less than St. Thomas on reason, and denied its ability to prove the immortality of the soul; and while St. Thomas held that the will can only act under the guidance of the intellect, Scotus held that its power was sovereign and arbitrary. On the question of the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the former held that she was sanctified in her mother's womb, but was conceived in sin, the latter that she was immaculately conceived. It was here that the great Franciscan achieved his most noted triumph. At the University of Paris, then and long after, the first university in the world, his views prevailed; with the lapse of time, and the development of Catholic doctrine, it came more and more into the light of day, until, in our day, it has become the defined doctrine of the Catholic Church. In these and many other questions he showed such critical acumen, such boundless capacity for subtle distinctions; the shadings of his thoughts were so delicate and diversified, that he acquired the title of the Subtle Doctor; and, if he did not displace St. Thomas from his throne, at least he shared with him the sovereignty of the schools.

After the death of Scotus the Irish schools decayed; and in the 14th and 15th centuries we seek in vain for a great scholar or a great school; and any hope of a revival of learning in the 16th century was blasted by the attempted reformation in religion, and the wars which followed. The ruin of monasteries and schools begun by Henry was completed by Elizabeth, and an ignorant clergy was the necessary result. Scarcely any of them had obtained a degree in theology or canon law, and of the former subject the vast majority knew nothing except what they had learned from their catechisms as boys. Pope Pius IV. urged the Irish Bishops, in 1564, to establish a university, to be supported by the property of the monasteries.[12] But this could not be done. The monastic

[12] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. I., pp. 32-8.

lands were already given over to those who had no sympathy with Catholic education, and no respect for a Papal document; and, even if they had been ready to surrender these lands to the Catholics, the penal laws barred the way. The classical schools in the towns were, then, the only resource left to the laity; and as to the clergy, it became necessary that they should cross the sea. Before the end of the 16th century Spenser speaks of Irish priests coming from Rome and Rheims; but, early in the next century, special colleges were erected and endowed on the Continent to keep up a supply of priests for the Irish Church.

In this work Spain took the lead. Philip II. helped to erect at Salamanca the "Royal College of the Noble Irish," as it was called; another Irish College was erected at Lisbon, in 1593; nearly 20 years later, an Irish College was established at Seville; and there were Irish Colleges also at Madrid, Alcala, and Santiago.[13] But, in the wide extent of his dominions, there were no Irish Colleges so closely in touch with the Irish at home as the Colleges at Louvain. That city had long been a stronghold of Catholic education, and during the 15th and 16th centuries, a few of its students were Irish, among them being Lombard and Creagh, both of whom became Archbishops of Armagh; and O'Hurley, the martyred Archbishop of Cashel. As yet, however, no purely Irish College had been affiliated to the University; nor was it until the early part of the 17th century that three such colleges were formed—the Pastoral College for the education of secular priests, the College of St. Antony of Padua for the education of Franciscans, and the Dominican College of the Holy Cross. The first of these, founded in 1623, owed its existence to Mathews, Archbishop of Dublin, then in exile in Flanders;[14] the second was founded in 1617, chiefly through the exertions of Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam; the third became an affiliated college in 1657, and owed much to the liberality of a family named Joyce from Galway.[15]

In the meantime, in other directions also, educational provision was being made for the Irish abroad. Luke Wadding, a native of

[13] Healy's *Centenary History of Maynooth*, pp. 55, *et seq.*
[14] D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 390.
[15] O'Heyne's *Irish Dominicans*, pp. 282-6.

Waterford, after joining the Franciscan order, went to Lisbon, and there, and at Coimbra, he finished his training, after which he became professor at Salamanca. Such was his reputation, that when Philip III. sent, in 1621, an embassy to the Pope, Wadding was one of its members. With the permission of his superiors he chose to remain in the Eternal City; and there his learning, his wisdom, his piety, brought him such influence with Popes and Cardinals that he was able to establish for the Irish Franciscans the Convent and College of St. Isidore. A valuable library was soon collected; 30 members of the order peopled the convent; and in its halls not a few zealous and learned Irishmen received their training, and then, crossing land and sea, undertook the dangerous duties of the Irish mission. Wadding founded his convent in 1626. About the same time the Irish College at Rome was founded for the training of secular priests, and, 40 years later, the Dominicans established the Convent and College of St. Clement.[16]

But much as these colleges did for Ireland, the Colleges in France did more. Before the close of the 16th century, there were Irish Colleges at Douay and Paris; and during the next two centuries, Irish students were educated at Bordeaux, at Nantz, at Toulouse, until, at the last quarter of the 18th century, more than two-thirds of the Irish educated abroad were being educated in the Colleges of France. And it is the opinion of one who speaks with the authority of extensive knowledge, that three-fourths of the priests who laboured in Ireland, during the 18th century, had come from the French colleges, especially from the Irish colleges of Paris.[17]

It was in these establishments, scattered over the Continent from Louvain to Rome, that the brightest Irish intellects were to be found. Compared with what they endured, the sufferings and sorrows of the Irish in foreign armies were little. The Wild Geese who followed Sarsfield in his flight had their thoughts diverted from sadder scenes by the joke and story of the camp and mess-room, the song on the march, the excitement of actual conflict, the hopes of promotion and higher pay. Their talents were appreciated, their

[16] O'Heyne, p. 117—*Appendix*.
[17] Healy, pp. 75, 696-7—*Appendix*, 10.

services rewarded, their religion was free ; they might achieve fame ; and they need not face in their own land the horrors of the penal laws. The Wild Geese in foreign colleges, on the contrary, had winged their flight only to return. In the class-rooms their places were often first ; and when promotion to the priesthood came, they might, had they remained abroad, have attained to the highest positions in the Church. But they were wanted at home to keep the lamp of faith still burning ; and once more, disguised as a sailor or concealed in a smuggler's craft, they were borne across the sea. Crowned with the highest academic honours, able to grapple with the deepest questions of theology and philosophy, familiar with the facts and with the lessons of history, these men of culture settled down in the obscurity of an Irish village. But the poverty and obscurity of their position was the least portion of the hardships they endured. Guiltless of crime, they were declared guilty by the law ; eager only to minister to the souls of their fellow-countrymen, they were at the mercy of the common informer, the bigoted parson, the ferocious magistrate, the drunken squireen. Their liberty was ever in peril, their shelter often the woods and forests; their end in a village cabin, or it might be at the end of a hangman's rope.

Amid such scenes, the writer and scholar found little room for the exercise of his talents. Yet there were a few who rose superior to their surroundings, and among these was Geoffrey Keating. The date and place of his birth is uncertain, as is also the date of his death ; but it is known that he was educated at Salamanca, where he was for many years a professor. He returned to Ireland in the early years of the 17th century, and became parish priest of Tybrid, in Tipperary. For denouncing too boldly the evils of adultery, he incurred the ire of a Catholic lady who had been living in sin with the President of Munster, and to avoid the wrath of the latter he had to fly from Tybrid to the woods and mountains. Nor could he return with safety for years. He wrote a moral treatise called the *Three Shafts of Death*, some poems, and a *History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*. This last is his greatest work, and on it he spent many years. Far from the necessary books, outlawed and proscribed, the task he undertook was full of difficulties. But he was anxious to employ his talents

for the service of his country, and, knowing that she had been defamed as well as robbed, he wished to defend her character against so many detractors. Nor was he ill-equipped for the work. He was a competent Irish scholar, and could write the language with such elegance that his works have become the best models of Irish prose. English and Latin he knew well; he was quite familiar with the works of all others who had written on Irish history; and he travelled far and wide in search of Irish manuscripts, annals, histories, biographies, and bardic tales, many of which have since been lost. On Cambrensis he is specially severe; Stanihurst he calls a false historian; he had no respect for Hanmer; Moryson and Campion were but "libellers and pamphleteers;" Davies was uncandid; and all these, added to Spenser and Camden, only followed in the footsteps of Cambrensis, and "copy his falsehoods."[18] But Keating himself did not escape censure. Peter Talbot declared that his History was no more than an ill-digested heap of silly fictions, a severe criticism, but not altogether undeserved. Keating had little skill in separating the false from the true, the fabulous from the real, the authentic annals from the bardic tale. In an age of partisans he was not impartial, and fully shared the prejudices of his time. Ill-arranged and ill-digested his work certainly is, yet it is well that it was written; for with many fables it contains many facts not otherwise available, and is of undoubted value to the historian.[19]

Two of Keating's contemporaries were David Rothe and Nicholas French, the former born at Kilkenny, the latter at Wexford. Both went abroad for their education; both were men of the highest talents; both became bishops, Rothe of Ossory and French of Ferns; both were prominent members of the Confederate Assembly at Kilkenny. More of a politician than Rothe, French was a man of strong will, and of pronounced convictions. In the Confederate Assembly no man was more respected, no man more trusted by the Nuncio, no man more hated by the Ormondists. Ever in favour of the boldest course, he moved, in 1646, that Preston be deprived of his command; the following year he was one of two delegates sent to Rome; he demanded, in 1650, the resignation of Ormond; he

[18] Keating's Preface.
[19] Ware's *Writers.*

negotiated with the Duke of Lorraine, and incurred the deep displeasure of Clanricarde.[20] He was ill near Wexford when the place was sacked by Cromwell, and during the rule of the Puritans he was abroad. Nor was he allowed home at the Restoration, for Ormond was his enemy to the last. It was during these years of exile his works were written. *The Unkind Deserter* is a severe and damaging indictment of Ormond; *Bleeding Iphigenia* gives a sad description of the sufferings of Ireland in these times; and *The Sale and Settlement of Ireland* treats of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and denounces in vigorous language the King himself, 'for having condemned the innocent without being heard, confirmed unlawful and usurped possessions, violated public faith, punished virtue, countenanced vice, held loyalty a crime, and treason worthy of reward.[21] Rothe was not so prominent in politics as French, and did not make so many enemies, though Ware charges him with treason and bigotry, while admitting his great learning. His principal work is his *Analecta*, which treats of the condition of the Catholics under Elizabeth and James. Those who will remember Cox's character will not be surprised to be told by him that it is a "most scandalous, lying book, stuffed with innumerable falsehoods." It is more agreeable to read that Usher had a high opinion of Rothe, and in matters of history and antiquities confessed his obligations to him. And Massingham declares that he was well versed in all sorts of learning, an elegant orator, a subtle philosopher, a profound divine, an eminent historian, and a sharp reprover of vice.[22]

On the political questions of the day John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, was more in accord with Rothe than with French. Even more than Rothe he was a student and a scholar, with little taste for the turmoil of political life. He was of an Anglo-Norman stock long settled in Galway, where his father taught school, and where he himself was born. He had little love for the old Irish; and he supported Ormond and Clanricarde against what he considered the violence of the Nuncio. But all this did not save him from

[20] Clanricarde's *Memoirs*, pp. 114-15.
[21] French's Works—(Duffy's Library).
[22] Ware's *Writers*; Meehan's *Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century*

being driven from Galway when the Puritans took possession of the city, and it was in France and in exile that he died. He translated Keating's History into Latin, and he wrote the life of Dr. Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, and also a fragment of Irish history, called the *Alinolothia*; in which he defends the Anglo-Irish, extols their fidelity to the faith, and passionately protests his own deep love for Ireland. And in his great work, *Cambrensis Eversus*, he proves this. Till then, on questions affecting Ireland and its history, Gerald Barry was appealed to as an authority. His lively narrative was much admired and extensively read, his accuracy was not questioned, his honesty not impugned, his mis-statements allowed to pass, his lies copied; and throughout Europe the most unfavourable opinions had long been entertained of Ireland and her people. An Irish priest, Father Stephen White, "a man," says Usher, "of exquisite knowledge in the antiquities of Ireland," had already done something to discredit Giraldus; but what he had written was in manuscript and was little known; and it remained for Lynch to complete the work which White had begun. He undertook to prove that Giraldus had not the qualities of a historian; that his statements were false in every particular; and he spared no effort to prove his case.[23] He was a man of wide reading, of extensive knowledge, of strong reasoning powers; and he wrote when advanced in years and when his judgment was matured. He wrote, it is true, with a heart charged with indignation, with vigour and even vehemence, and his epithets are sometimes strong. But he perverted no facts, and made no false statements, and he so exposed Giraldus that his credit as a historian was destroyed.

More prominent as politicians, but less able as writers, were Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, and Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin. Walsh is best known as the friend and follower of Ormond. He opposed the Nuncio, but favoured the peace of 1648; he was angry with French (on account of his opposition to Ormond) and supported Clanricarde as Ormond's friend; and in every dispute and in every negotiation he watched over Ormond's interests and wished for Ormond's triumph. He managed to escape

[23] *Cambrensis Eversus*, Vol. I., pp. 111.

the wrath of the Puritans, and was unmolested during the period of their rule; and when the Protector's government fell, and Ormond returned to London, Walsh hastened to bid him welcome. He it was who drew up the Loyal Remonstrance and hoped to have it adopted.[24] But his supporters were few. With all his ingenuity he found it impossible to reconcile its bold and disrespectful language with submission and respect to the Pope. Yet he was satisfied he had acted for the best interests of his country and church, and he wrote in his vindication *The History of the Irish Remonstrance*, a work not remarkable for grace of style or any literary excellence, but which contains valuable documents, and throws much light on the history of the time. Walsh died in London, in 1687. Burnet, who knew him well, said that in religion he was almost a Protestant.[25] At all events he was for a time under ecclesiastical censure, and was the friend of Ormond to the last. Talbot, who was at first a member of the Jesuit order, wrote against the Remonstrance *The New Remonstrant Religion*; and besides this he wrote many other volumes, mostly polemical and only of a transient nature. Like his brother, the Duke of Tyrconnell, he had an aptitude for ingratiating himself with those in power. He was the friend of Charles II. and is said to have converted him to Catholicity at Cologne, in 1656; he had been the friend of Cromwell, and had worn mourning at his funeral; he was known at the courts of Madrid and of Rome: and more than once was on intimate terms with the Viceroy at Dublin. Oliver Plunkett thought he meddled too much in affairs of State, and wrote a book to show that the See of Armagh had a primacy over Dublin. But Talbot, in an answering pamphlet, maintained that the primacy belonged to Dublin.[26]

Among Irish writers educated abroad, whose lives were spent either wholly or in part in Ireland, these are the most prominent names, during the 17th and the last years of the 16th century. But the list is incomplete. Creagh, a native of Limerick, educated at Westminster and Louvain, wrote an *Ecclesiastical*

[24] Walsh's *History of the Irish Remonstrance.*
[25] Burnet, Vol. I., pp. 216-17.
[26] Ware's *Writers*; D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*; Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*; Renehan's *Archbishops.*

History, and a *Treatise on the Irish Language*; Primate MacCaughwell wrote *Commentaries on Duns Scotus*; his successor O'Reilly was a student at Louvain, Plunkett of the Irish College at Rome; O'Heyne taught theology at Naples; Tirrey, Bishop of Cork, wrote a *Panegyric on St. Patrick*; Mooney, a Franciscan, a *Short History of Ireland*; Shortall, Abbot of Bective, wrote some sermons, as did O'Gallagher, Bishop of Raphoe; Andrew Sell, a Jesuit who became a Protestant, wrote many controversial works.[27] But there were many others who did not return to Ireland, but lived and died abroad; and, like their countrymen of the 6th and 7th centuries, carried the fame of their nation for learning far and wide. Bath, a native of Dublin, wrote an *Introduction to the Study of Music*, and died at Madrid; Peter Lombard, though Archbishop of Armagh, lived and died at Rome, and wrote *Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ*. Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, died at Madrid; Fleming, a Franciscan, taught philosophy at Louvain; Kearney, a Jesuit, taught Greek at Antwerp; Peter Wadding was Chancellor of the Universities at Prague and Gratz; Sherlock taught at Salamanca, Harold and Bruodin at Prague; O'Sullivan wrote his *Catholic History* in Spain; O'Daly founded the Dominican College at Lisbon; Wadding in his quiet home at St. Isidore's, worked silently for 30 years, and, besides editing the whole works of Duns Scotus, wrote the *Annals of the Franciscan Order* in eight volumes, a gigantic work, which only a giant could have done.[28]

At Louvain, the Franciscans in their College of St. Anthony procured Irish type and set up a printing press, from which many works dealing with religion were sent to Ireland. With the object of writing a *History of the Irish Franciscans*, Father Mooney, the Provincial, travelled over Ireland to the various houses of his Order, and then wrote his History at Louvain. It remained in manuscript until the 19th century, when it was translated into English by one to whom students of Irish history owe much (Father Meehan), and published under the title of *The Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries of the 17th*

[27] Ware's *Writers*.

[28] *Ibid.*, *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 224; Grattan Flood, *History of Irish Music*, p. 161; Meehan's *Geraldines*; O'Heyne's *Dominicans*.

Century. Mooney's work did not satisfy three of his contemporaries at Louvain—John Colgan, Michael O'Clery, and Hugh Ward, all Franciscans, and all natives of Donegal. Already a Franciscan, Father Fleming had collected materials for the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, which he proposed to write; but he was killed in 1631, and had then written only the *Life of St. Columbanus*. The materials he collected fell into Colgan's hands, when Professor of Theology at Louvain, and he undertook the work intended by Fleming. But he wished for fuller information, and O'Clery was sent to Ireland to procure the materials required. He came to Ireland in 1615 and remained there for 20 years. The age of Elizabeth was then over, the age of the Puritans had not yet come; it was the calm between two violent storms; and O'Clery took advantage of the comparative tranquility which prevailed. His difficulties, however, were many. The Franciscan monasteries had all but disappeared. Those at Drogheda and Clonmel, as well as at Galway and Kilconnell, had passed into the hands of strangers; in Moyne there were but six friars; Ross Errilly enjoyed a precarious existence owing to the kindly tolerance of the Protestant Bishop of Tuam; at Adare, only the walls remained; Timoleague was a ruin, and so was Donegal.[29] Of the Catholic gentry but few remained; the lands of Ulster were for the most part in the hands of settlers having little sympathy for Irish monks or Irish manuscripts; the Government officials hardly abstained from persecution; and on every side O'Clery met enemies. But he was a brave man, not easily turned aside from his purpose; and if he met many enemies he also met some friends—in monasteries and convents, in the houses of the old gentry still left, among the bards and chroniclers. With their aid he gathered together an enormous quantity of historical matter, annals, chronicles, genealogies, biographies, family and clan histories, tales and poems, and those legends and traditions which still survived among the people.

From time to time he sent the result of his researches to Louvain; and thus Ward was able to write an *Irish Martyrology* and a *Life of St. Rumold*, and perhaps he might have written more had he not

[29] Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 16, 28, 58, 63, 72, 78.

died in 1635. Colgan lived for more than 20 years later, and made full use of the materials received in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, and his *Acta Sanctorum*. The former recounts at length the lives and labours and miracles of St. Patrick and St. Bridget and St. Columba; the latter gives the Lives of the Irish Saints in the order of their festivals, but only for the first three months of the year.[30] The learning and industry, as well as the piety of Colgan, are fully attested in these works. He grudged no labour in what he considered a sacred task, as it brought fresh glory to the land of his birth, and established its fame for learning and sanctity in ages that were long past. The historian whose work deals with ancient Christian Ireland will turn to his pages with pleasure and profit; but he will do well not to follow blindly in Colgan's footsteps. "He was," says Peter Talbot, "a raker of uncertain things." He was as credulous as Keating; his critical faculty was as poor. Legends and old tales are placed on a level with what is authentic and what is true; fact and fable are intermingled; probability is neglected, evidence not weighed; miracles are unnecessarily multiplied; and to some extent these defects detract from works which constitute a monument of patience and of learning.[31]

In the meantime, O'Clery had undertaken a work greater even than that undertaken by Colgan. With the mass of materials he had collected he settled down, about 1630, near the ruined monastery of Donegal, and there determined to write the Annals of Ireland from the earliest times to the death of Hugh O'Neill. Single-handed he could not reduce to order this mass of matter, and was obliged to obtain the assistance of three others, his brothers Peregrine and Conary, and his cousin Fearfesa O'Mulconry. Like himself, they were skilled in Irish history and antiquities, and wrote the Irish language with ease, and it is in Irish the whole work is written. Farrell O'Gara, a descendant of the O'Gara chiefs of Sligo, then member of Parliament for Sligo, came to their assistance, and supplied them with food and attendance, and to him they dedicated the work when it was finished, in 1636. In places the chronology is defective, and in the earlier portions we are dealing rather with legends than

[30] Published at Louvain in 1647.
[31] Ware's *Writers*.

with facts; but the due sequence of events is throughout maintained. Nor are any important events omitted. Sometimes the work was called the *Annals of Donegal*, but it is now known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*, from the number employed in its compilation. All of them were of the old race, yet are not consciously unjust to the Anglo-Irish, and are ever ready to speak well of valour and virtue and capacity. They do not undertake to trace in these events the relation between cause and effect, nor closely examine motives, nor describe the passions with which the actors were stirred; for it must be remembered they are writing annals and not history. But as annals, for fulness and completeness, for the space covered and the events recorded, they are unrivalled in this country, and not surpassed in any other; and to O'Clery, and his fellow-labourers, their country owes eternal gratitude. Brought to Louvain, where O'Clery died in 1643, the work remained in manuscript until the 19th century, when it was edited, translated, and annotated by O'Donovan, with an ability and a completeness quite worthy of the original.[32]

All these works were the outcome not only of much literary activity, but of a scholarship that recalled the days of the ancient monastic schools; and the Irish Catholic, ground down by persecuting laws, rejoiced that his exiled countrymen so well upheld the fame of their nation abroad, while they also maintained the fight against Protestantism and ignorance at home. On the other hand, those who wished to have Ireland Protestant felt disappointed at the small amount of progress made. From their point of view it was well to have the Catholic schools closed. But ignorance is a bad foundation on which to build a people's conversion; and if no education were given in place of the education denied, the result would be that the Irish, in ceasing to be Catholics, would cease also to be Christians. The attempt of Lech, Archbishop of Dublin, to establish a university in the 14th century came to nothing; the College at Maynooth, established in 1513, by the Earl of Kildare, did not claim to be a university, and was of little importance as a college; and up to the Reformation no university

[32] O'Curry's *MSS., Materials of Irish History*, pp. 140-161; *Four Masters.*

had existed in Ireland. Archbishop Browne, in 1547, endeavoured to have one established out of the funds of the late suppressed Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, but he failed; a similar project, in 1564, came to nothing, owing to the opposition of Archbishop Curwen; nor was it until 1591 that the matter was seriously taken in hand.[33] Loftus was then Archbishop, and as reluctant as Curwen to part with the revenues of St. Patrick's; but there was an old disused monastery of All Hallows, and he suggested that this be given for the purpose. The Corporation, to whom it belonged, handed it over with some orchards and gardens which surrounded it; the Viceroy, Fitzwilliam, opened a subscription list, and more than £2,000 was subscribed to put the ruined buildings in repair; a charter was then granted by the Queen, and thus did Trinity College begin its career, in 1593.

It was to be, as stated in the Queen's letter "a College for learning, whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore to travel into France, Italy and Spain to get learning in such foreign universities, whereby they have been infected with Popery and other ill qualities."[34] In this letter Elizabeth's zeal against Popery is shown, but not her generosity. She gave no money, and the College had to rely for its income on a grant of concealed lands in Munster. The difficulty of ascertaining what lands were concealed and attainted was great, especially as the College agents had to contend with such sharpers as Richard Boyle. At last it made good its claim to about 3,000 acres in Limerick and Kerry, with a yearly income of more than £100. Even this small sum was not available during the war with Tyrone, and the government granted it an annual sum of £524 as temporary relief. With this it had to be satisfied in the last year of Elizabeth's reign.[35] Her successor was enabled to be more liberal. The flight of the Earls, and O'Doherty's rebellion, placed a whole province at his disposal; and to Trinity College he gave 20,000 acres of the best lands in Ulster, besides large grants

[33] Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 61-2; Shirley's *Original Letters, apud* Mahaffy, pp. 99-102.
[34] Mahaffy.
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-94.

of land in the southern counties, and a permanent annual subsidy of £400; so that by the year 1613 it had been changed from the poor struggling foundation of Elizabeth into a wealthy corporation.[36] It suffered somewhat in the rebellion of 1641; but the triumph of Cromwell restored its income and its efficiency; for its tendencies had always been Puritanical, and the Puritans in no way interfered with its government; and, when the Restoration came, it was flourishing and rich. In the words of one of its most gifted sons, it was a "well-ordered home of learning and piety, with its old estates secured, and its privileges protected." [37]

Yet, with all its wealth and privileges, it failed to achieve the object of its founders. Identified with confiscation and religious persecution, and scorning Irish customs, it never reached the hearts of the people. The children of the higher classes, educated in the classical schools of the larger towns, were brought up in hatred of England. Not a few of them joined the Jesuit Order; and the Jesuits from the first accurately gauged the character of Elizabeth's College, and, regarding it with abhorrence themselves, taught the people to regard it similarly.[38] Their sacrifices, their sufferings, their zeal, their energy, their ability, the skill and tact with which they acted, gave them enormous influence. They were able to keep Catholic boys from Trinity College, and, in some cases, when they had gone there, to take them away, and send them to foreign colleges, so that they were still "infected with Popery." Against such zeal and capacity the Protestant clergy sent forth from Trinity College were able to do little. For the most part they knew not a word of the people's language, and took no pains to acquire a knowledge of it, being more concerned about obtaining good church livings and good incomes than for the conversion of the people around them.[39]

Nor could Trinity College claim to have sent forth many distinguished scholars. Bedell, the well known Bishop of Kilmore, was at one time its Provost, but had never been one of its students; Sterne, who had studied there and who wrote some philosophical

[36] Mahaffy, pp. 154-7.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 276, 297, 317.
[38] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 37.
[39] Mahaffy, pp. 11, 12, 37, 45, 177, 204; Carte, Vol. I., p. 43

works, received part of his education at Cambridge ;[40] Swift owed the College little ; and William Molyneux died before his powers had fully matured. But there were two others whose works were not unworthy of a great university, and have shed a lustre on that in which they were trained. These were James Usher and James Ware. Born in Dublin, in 1581, Usher was among the first students of Trinity College, which he entered in 1594. At the age of 40 he became Bishop of Meath, and four years later Archbishop of Armagh. The last years of his life were spent in England, and in that country he died in 1656. His personal character was in the main an attractive one. He was amiable, sincere, pious, attached to his Church, though tolerant of other forms of Protestantism ; but though some of his relatives were Catholics—his uncle Stanihurst was a priest—he had no toleration for Catholicity. As Bishop of Meath he urged that the penal laws be enforced ; as Primate he induced the Bishops to declare that Catholicity was idolatry, and that to tolerate it was to set religion to sale ; and, in 1644, he begged of Charles I. to make no terms with the Catholics .[41] A life-long student, he amassed an enormous amount of knowledge, and acquired a reputation that was European. He had a special aptitude for theological and historical studies ; and his work on the Antiquities of the Ancient British Church is a vast storehouse of knowledge, showing the wide extent of his learning, the thoroughness with which he studied his subject, his mastery of detail.[42] Conscious of great powers, he was ready at the age of 19 to dispute with one of the ablest Jesuits of the time, Father Fitzsimon, then a prisoner in Dublin Castle. But his biographer's account of the matter will not easily be credited—that a mere boy, no matter how brilliant, terrorised into silence a seasoned disputant like Fitzsimon.[43] It is however certain that Usher loved religious controversy; and his work on the Religion professed by the Ancient Irish was often drawn on by men of his own persuasion.

[40] Mahaffy, 318-20.
[41] Usher's Works, Vol. I., pp. 221, 58, 73-4.
[42] *Ibid.*, Vols. IV. and V.
[43] *Words of Comfort to Persecuted Catholics*, Edited by Hogan, pp. 13-24.

when they wanted to confound their Catholic opponents. Usher well deserves the description of Johnson, that he was the "great luminary of the Irish Church;" he stands on a level with Colgan, and Lynch, and Wadding, and not unworthy to rank even with Duns Scotus; and when he died, he left in his own Church neither an equal nor a second.

Ware's learning was not of the universal character of Usher's. Born in 1594, and dying in 1666, he held the position of Auditor-General, and was a prominent figure in the public affairs of the time. But he was an official rather than a politician, and before everything else a student and a scholar. To the study of Irish history and antiquities he devoted every spare moment of his long life; his care, his patience, were unwearied; and he amassed such an amount of knowledge that all subsequent historical writers have turned to his pages for light. His *Annals*, his *Antiquities*, his *Lives of the Irish Bishops and Writers*, are exhaustive on the subjects treated; and the deep research is not more commendable than the honest spirit in which he writes. He wrote in no party spirit; he had no case to prove; his desire was to find out the truth; and, when we remember the fierce passions with which the age and country were stirred, his calmness and impartiality are deserving of all praise.

There were a few others who wrote in Ireland, though they were not Irish. Spenser the poet wrote his *View* with the worst passions of a dominant race, he used his pen as Cromwell used his sword; Davies was a lawyer with a brief for his master, King James; Stanihurst and Campion were priests, but are not more impartial on that account; and Fynes Moryson was merely the panegyrist of his master, Mountjoy. Two other names may be mentioned who were Irish, and lived and died in Ireland—Roderick O'Flaherty and Duald MacFirbis. O'Flaherty was of the ancient chiefs of Iar-Connaught, a studious, cultured gentleman, who loved books and knew how to write; and in his *Ogygia* and his description of Iar-Connaught did valuable service for the country he loved, and for the desolate region over which his ancestors once ruled. MacFirbis was an antiquarian and an Irish scholar of eminence, and, for a time, assisted Ware to decipher those Irish MSS. which that writer

found it hard to understand, but which MacFirbis read with ease.[44]

With the 17th century the great men seem to have all gone. Colgan and Wadding, Usher and Ware, left no successors. Trinity College, it is true, sent forth Swift and Steele and Parnell, and Berkeley and Burke and Goldsmith; but they cared little for the history of Ireland or its antiquities, and took no pride in her ancient fame. Steele and Burke and Goldsmith left their country altogether, and sought in London the most suitable field for their ambition. Swift alone mingled much in Irish affairs, and by his writings influenced the public mind of his own country; but even he was out of touch with the vast majority of the people. Except MacGeoghegan, who wrote a History of Ireland in French, the Irish abroad sought for fame as soldiers and diplomatists, and at home only Charles O'Connor of Belanagare (1710—1790) recalled the learning of the 17th century. Writing Latin and Irish with equal ease, he wrote much and well on Irish history and antiquities; and was no unworthy successor to MacFirbis and O'Flaherty.[45] As for the mass of the people, deprived of their schools and forbidden to erect new ones, and with the priest and schoolmaster declared outlaws, it was difficult to obtain any education. But even these difficulties were partially overcome, and, in spite of penal laws, the pupil and teacher often met. If in a house, it was poor and ill-adapted for a school, but often also it was in the open air under a sheltering wall or hedge. Yet, even amid such conditions, the spark of learning was kept alive, and a continuity of knowledge maintained. Campion found in his day (1574) that Latin was widely spoken;[46] thirty years later, Father Mooney, the Franciscan Provincial, met country lads who were familiar with Virgil and Homer;[47] and Petty, about 1670, found that in the wilds of Kerry French was known, and Latin was freely spoken, even by the poorest of the poor.[48]

In the next century, equally heroic efforts to acquire knowledge

[44] Ware's *Writers*; MacFirbis's *Annals*.
[45] *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 292-7.
[46] Campion's *History*.
[47] Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 66.
[48] Moran's *Catholics of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 99.

were made; but no great literary works appeared, such as had marked the 17th century. Such works require long study and sustained effort, and could not be produced without libraries, books, and money, and without a printing press to publish them when written. Landless and outlaws, the Catholics in their own country were only paupers and slaves. But there were poets, and many of them, scattered over the land, who, in the people's own language, gave utterance to the people's feelings; who mourned over the chiefs that were dead, over the battles that were lost, over the lands that were confiscated, over their kindred beyond the sea. Sometimes they satirised the strangers in their midst, or uttered threats of vengeance against them; and often, wearied with the cares and sorrows of earth, they turned their thoughts to a better world.[49] Thus sped the greater part of the eighteenth century, until at last the worst of the penal times was over, and there came the dawn of better days.

[49] Hyde's *Literary History*, pp. 597-606.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Parliamentary Struggle.

THE Irish Parliament was not of native origin, nor modelled on any of the ancient assemblies, such as the Aenach or the Feis. Introduced from England, it was at first but a council of the great men of Church and State; but when Sir John Wogan was Viceroy, in 1295, an elective element was introduced by the admission of elected representatives from the counties; and from that date, it assumed the name and character of a Parliament.[1] Usually it met at Dublin, but Parliaments were also held at Kilkenny, Drogheda, Naas, Tristledermot and Trim. It did not meet every year, as the English Parliament does now. In the reign of Elizabeth, for instance, 27 years separated one Parliament from another; and after Perrott's Parliament had concluded its sittings, in 1586, 27 years again elapsed before another Parliament was called. Nor was the assembly, for centuries after Wogan's time, anything more than the Parliament of the Pale. The policy of James extended to all classes the status of English subjects, and, in the Parliament of 1613, the representatives of the whole nation, for the first time, appeared. In 1560 only 98 members were summoned to the House of Commons; in Perrott's Parliament the number was 126; but in 1613 the number had swelled

[1] Cox, pp. 85-6.

to 232. As all Ireland was then shire-ground the present number of counties existed; and Trinity College also had its representatives. It was not however to these additions, but to the newly-created boroughs the enormous increase was due. In his anxiety to outvote the Catholics James had given charters to many places in Ulster which were but miserable hamlets, inhabited by new settlers from England and Scotland, all of whom hated the Catholics, and might be relied on to vote them down.[2] To a lesser extent further charters were granted by later sovereigns, and in the time of William III. there were 300 members in the House of Commons. At that number it remained until the Irish Parliament was finally extinguished.[3] In the House of Lords the number also fluctuated, and while in 1681 there were but 141 peers, a century later there were 202, of whom 22 were always spiritual, the remaining being temporal peers.[4]

In all this there are points of resemblance between the Irish and English Parliaments; but they differed widely in the extent of their powers; and if the English Parliament was supreme in England, the Irish Parliament was certainly not supreme in Ireland. On this subject much controversy arose. It may be, as Hallam thinks, that, for two centuries after the Invasion, English statutes were valid and received in Ireland;[5] and the statement is correct if such statutes had been re-enacted by the Irish Parliament, or if, whether re-enacted or not, they were merely declaratory of the English common law. But if they were statutes introductory of a new law, and if, above all, there is question of a later date, the evidence is strong that such statutes did not bind. Any claim of the kind, made by England, is specially repudiated by an Irish Parliament of 1408, declaring that English statutes were not of force "unless they were allowed and published in this Kingdom of Ireland."[6] One of the provisions of Poyning's Act was that all English statutes hitherto passed,

[2] Gardiner's *History of England*, Vol. II., pp. 285-303.
[3] Mountmorres, Vol. II., p. 19.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 317; Swift MacNeill, *The Irish Parliament*, Chap. I.
[5] Monk-Mason's *Irish Parliaments—Introduction.*
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 81.

were to be of force in Ireland, an unnecessary enactment if they were already in force. The English laws of Henry VIII., whereby the Pope's spiritual supremacy was denied, were specially enacted in the Irish Parliament, and were not considered of force in Ireland until this was done; and Charles I. declared that this had been the constant practice.[7] Nor is there, in the opinion of Sir Richard Bolton, a single record, either in England or Ireland, for 400 years, to show that English statutes bound Ireland without having been accepted by the Irish Parliament.[8] If objection be taken to this statement, as has been done by another Irish lawyer, Mayart, who quotes an English Act of 1138, operative in Ireland, without the Irish Parliament's consent, Bolton's answer is that such an Act is merely declaratory of the common law.[9]

This controversey showed that the powers of the Irish Parliament had not been accurately defined. But, long before the time of Bolton and Mayart, its powers had been seriously curtailed by Poyning's Act, by which no Parliament could be summoned until the Irish Privy Council had certified the reasons for summoning it, and the laws proposed to be passed; and only after these proposals had been further examined and approved by the English Privy Council, was the Irish Parliament called. Nor could it even consider any other proposals except those sent from England. An amending Act of 1556 gave it the right to propose laws during its sittings; but these proposals should be submitted to the Irish and English Privy Councils, by either or both of which they might be amended or even rejected; and, if returned from England, all the Irish Parliament could do was to accept or reject, for it had no power to modify them.[10] With characteristic contempt for popular rights, Strafford, in 1634, insisted that the Irish Parliament could only petition the Privy Council to have bills proposed, but had no power itself to propose them.[11] Cromwell abolished the Irish Parliament altogether, giving Ireland 30 members in the

[7] Monk-Mason's *Irish Parliaments*, pp. 53, 99—*Introduction.*
[8] Harris's *Hibernica*, Part II., p. 44; Ball's *Irish Legislative Systems*, 17, 19, 64.
[9] Ball, pp. 48-9; *Hibernica*, p. 99.
[10] Mountmorres, Vol. I., pp. 58-9.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 323; Ball, pp. 27-8.

English Parliament; and in the Parliaments held during the Protectorate this arrangement was continued.[12]

At the Restoration Cromwell's legislative union was ignored; and in 1661 the Irish Parliament was similarly constituted to that which had been browbeaten by Strafford. Nor was the English Parliament willing to forego its claim to legislate for Ireland; and in the laws prohibiting the exportation of Irish cattle to England (1665), that prescribing the Oath of Abjuration (1692), and that dealing with forfeited estates (1700), there is visible evidence of the assertion of such a claim. A Parliament really representative of all classes of Irishmen would have vigorously protested against such laws. But the Irish members in many cases had no representative capacity; and, after 1692, they were exclusively Protestant, inflamed with bigotry, dominated by self-interest, and thinking more of securing forfeited estates, or hounding down the Catholics, than of asserting their independence, or studying questions of constitutional law. There was, indeed, a feeble protest against the law of 1665, but the worst Act for the Protestants themselves—that dealing with the woollen manufactures—in 1698, was accepted and re-enacted in the Irish Parliament, and only one member, Mr. Molyneux, had the courage to protest. In a book published by him, *The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, he discussed the whole question of Irish legislative rights. Following in Bolton's footsteps, and going beyond him, he boldly asserted that there was not a single instance of an English Act claiming to bind Ireland, but there were several instances of Irish Acts expressly denying any subordination to the English Parliament; and if Irish members had accepted without protest the English Acts of William's reign it was because these Acts were agreeable to them, and just such as they would have enacted themselves.[13] Molyneux has been called a patriot, but according to modern notions he little deserves the name. A graduate of Trinity College, and its representative, he gloried in the Revolution of 1688, and favoured Protestant Ascendency and the penal laws. For the

[12] Mountmorres, Vol. II., pp. 243-4.
[13] *Case Stated*, pp. 68, 112; Ball, p. 40.

English Parliament he had unbounded admiration, and unbounded confidence in its justice, and in what he wrote he respectfully submitted to its decision.[14] The answer came swift and stern. *The Case Stated* was examined by the English House of Commons and, without any denial of its facts, or answering of its arguments, it was declared to be of dangerous tendency, and was ordered to be burned by the common hangman; and if Molyneux had not died the same year, he would probably have been impeached.[15] There was no other Irish member courageous enough to lift up the standard which had fallen from his dying hands; and instead of the English Parliament receding from its position, it passed, in 1719, an Act expressly declaring that it had power to legislate for Ireland, at the same time taking away the appelate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords.[16]

While the subordination and impotence of the Irish Parliament were thus emphasised, in England, during the same period the bounds of Parliamentary and popular liberty were appreciably extended. By the Habeas Corpus Act there was an end put to arbitrary imprisonment; the Bill of Rights took away the right, or supposed right, of the King to dispense from law, or raise standing armies; the Mutiny Act placed the soldier under military tribunals, and on being re-enacted yearly, brought the conduct of the whole army frequently under public review; the hearth money was abolished; the Triennial and Septennial Acts put a limit to the duration of Parliaments; the lapsing of the Licensing Act made the Press free.[17] Judges were made irremovable, and placemen could not sit in Parliament after appointment, without first offering themselves for re-election. Finally, all money bills originated in the House of Commons, which had also a voice, and a decisive one, in the expenditure of the public revenue.[18]

Not one of these measures had been enacted in Ireland. There was no Habeas Corpus Act, no Triennial or Septennial Act, no

[14] *Case Stated*, pp. 1-4.
[15] Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. II., pp. 658-61.
[16] Ball, p. 77; Swift MacNeill's *The Irish Parliament*, p. 35.
[17] Macaulay, Vol. I., pp. 650, 677-8, 673, Vol. II., pp. 74, 126.
[18] Ranke's *History of England*, Vol. V., pp. 69-70, 233-4.

annual Mutiny Act, no Bill of Rights. The hearth money was still levied, and bore heavily on the poor.[19] Judges held office at the pleasure of government; placemen and pensioners swarmed on the Parliamentary benches; money bills originated with the English Privy Council.[20] The chief source of the annual revenue was the many forfeitures and confiscations of land, and from quit rents, crown rents, and composition rents large sums were raised. The hearth money, the customs and excise, helped to swell the total; additional taxes were imposed from time to time; and the revenue, which in 1675 amounted to £288,000, had risen in 1750 to £450,000.[21] But over the expenditure of this large sum the Irish Parliament had no control. The crown and quit rents were the hereditary and personal revenue of the reigning sovereign; the hearth money and those customs and excise which were permanent came to be regarded in the same light; and when the revenue from these sources met the expenses of government, as in the years following 1666, no Parliament was called. Throughout the whole of the 18th century it met in each alternate year, principally to vote additional taxes, but even these it could not expend. As to how they were expended it could protest, and that was all. The King was beyond its reach, the Viceroy and the Irish Secretary were responsible only to the English Ministry which appointed them, and by the Irish Parliament, they could be neither censured nor impeached. Regarded, then, as the property of the King rather than of the public, the Irish revenue supplied pensions to royal bastards and discarded mistresses, to court favourites and corrupt politicians; and if an Irish member, or even the whole body of members, raised a protest, these protests were treated with scorn.

Seldom, indeed, were any such protests made in the early years of the 18th century, for at that time the whole energies of Irish legislators were turned to the enactment of penal laws. The greater part of the members held forfeited estates, and to keep undisturbed possession of them, they thought it best to crush the Catholics,

[19] Lecky's *Leaders of Public Opinion*, Vol. I., pp. 24-5.
[20] MacNeill, pp. 71-88.
[21] Mountmorres, Vol. II., pp. 245-300 Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 2-3.

to drive the most energetic of them abroad, to make those at home helpless, ignorant and poor. It was necessary to keep out the Pretender, and it was well to be of one mind with the English Parliament, and to flatter the reigning sovereign and Viceroy. And the Journals of the House of Commons afford ample evidence that these things were done. Every session saw fresh penal laws enacted, until the Penal Code was complete. The hatred and dread of the Pretender had become a madness, until even Queen Anne testily informed them (1713) that the best way to show their loyalty was to discountenance "the restless endeavours of those factious spirits who attempt to raise groundless fears in the minds of her Majesty's people."[22] Every pretext was seized upon to present an address, in which the members expressed their most fervid loyalty to the sovereign, and grovelled before him as if he had the perfections of an archangel.[23] And the adulation with which they greeted each Viceroy was little less, though it would be hard to find in Ormond, or Pembroke, or Grafton, still less in Lord Wharton, any remarkable gifts of intellect or character. When not engaged in the congenial task of worrying the weak or flattering the powerful, they were, in the words of Swift, "shouting about the privileges of Parliament till their lungs were spent." It was declared a breach of privilege to seize a member's cattle, to encroach on his land, to insult his servants, to beat his wife, to serve him with a writ even at his own house.[24] But, while privilege and persecution so largely engaged their energies, they had little time to devote to the making of laws for the general interests of the public; and for many years there are few such laws on the statute book. An Act was passed to promote the planting of trees, an Act for the making of roads, an Act to suppress gambling, an Act by which the linen manufactures were encouraged.[25] There was, further, a resolution of the House of Commons to wear only Irish manufactured clothes;[26] and there was, in 1703,

[22] *Commons Journals*, Vol. III., pp. 997-8.
[23] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., pp. 21, 169, 438.
[24] *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 394-5, 846, 902, Vol. IV., p. 267.
[25] *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 351, 602-3, 808, 932, Vol. IV., pp. 179-85.
[26] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 195.

a strong desire to have a freer constitution, and a closer union with England.[27] But England would have no such Parliamentary union; and the Irish Parliament remained, distinct but subordinate; resembling its English parent, but with none of its merits; a Parliament without power, without dignity, without self-respect; a Parliament of pensioners and placemen, of bigots and bullies, of tyrants and slaves. And yet, even in this degraded assembly, public spirit began at length to appear; its patience in servitude became exhausted; and at last it struck out with vigour, when brought face to face with fresh injustice, and under the influence of a powerful mind.

Among the many names on the Irish pension list of 1723 is that of the Duchess of Kendal,[28] who received £3,000 a year. She had been the German mistress of George I., and she was, without doubt, in titles and wealth richly paid for the degraded office she had filled. But she was not easily satisfied, and thought it quite proper that for her benefit an impoverished country might be still further squeezed. The copper coinage in Ireland was then running short; the various petitions of the Irish Parliament to have a mint in Dublin had hitherto been ignored; and a patent was granted to have copper coined. The total money in circulation did not exceed £400,000, and a small amount of copper coinage would have been ample. But with sublime contempt of Ireland's wishes, and without consulting either its Viceroy or Privy Council, a certain William Wood, an ironmonger of Wolverhampton, was granted a patent, in 1722, to coin copper half-pence and farthings to the amount of £108,000. The patent was really granted to the Duchess of Kendal, who sold it to Wood for £10,000 and a share of the profits; and under this arrangement Wood proceeded to send his half-pence and farthings across the Channel.[29] The Irish Commissioners of Revenue respectfully protested, first to the Viceroy and then to the Treasury Commissioners, but neither protest received the courtesy of a reply. Parliament took the matter in hands and resolved that

[27] *Commons Journal*, p. 45.
[28] *Ibid.*—List of pensioners.
[29] Swift's *Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 4-7.

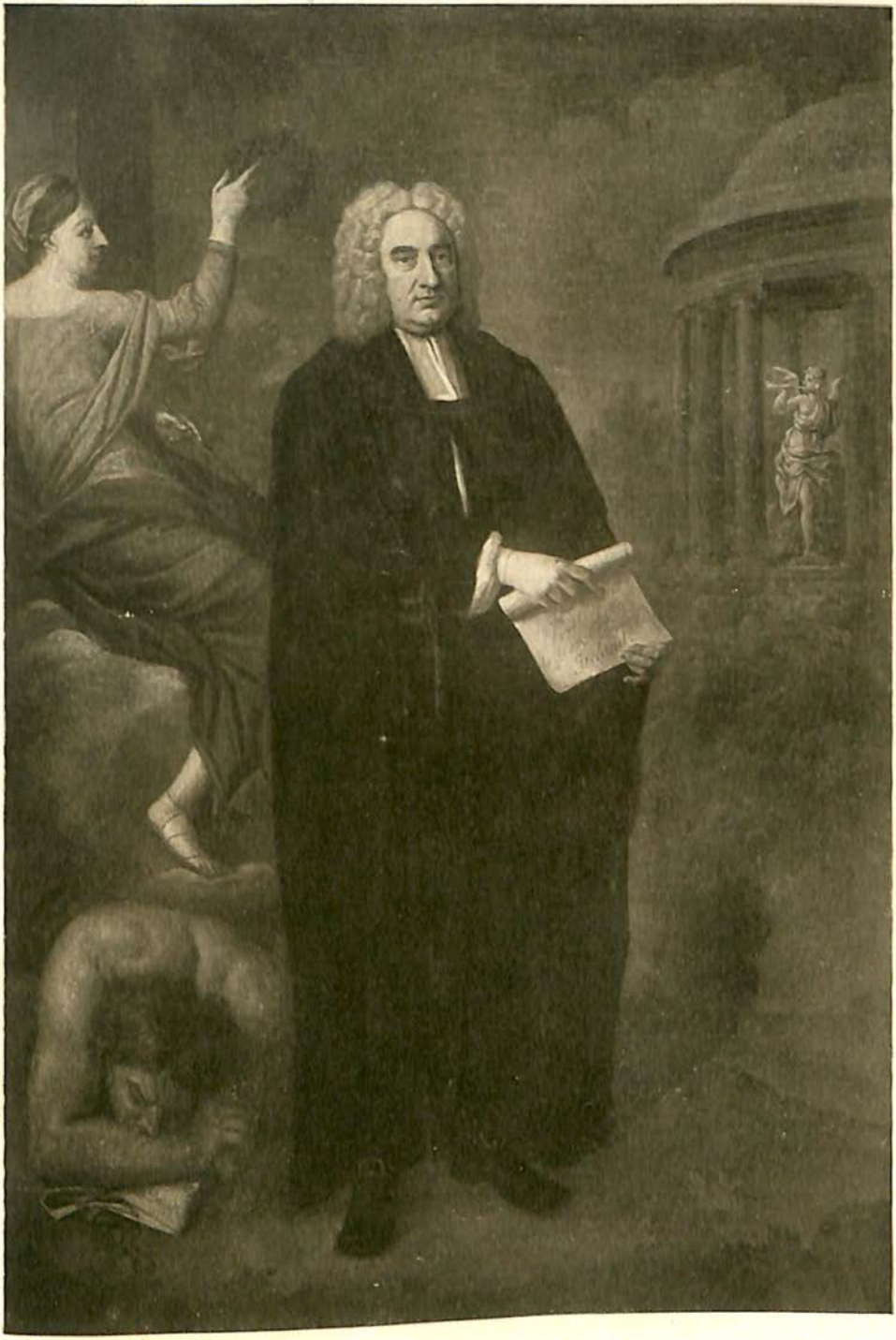
Wood had been guilty of fraud; that the coin was excessively adulterated; and that, if put in circulation, it would entail a loss to the country of 150 per cent.; would be prejudicial to the King's revenue, ruin trade and commerce, and dangerously encroach on the rights and properties of the subject.[30] These resolutions went to the King, who replied that they would receive careful attention. But meantime the coin was being introduced, and Wood boastingly declared that, with Walpole, the English Prime Minister, at his back, he would pour the coin down the throats of the Irish.[31]

It was at this stage that a great Irishman intervened, and with disastrous effect on Wood and his accomplices. Born in Dublin (1667), and educated at Kilkenny and Trinity College, Jonathan Swift became secretary to Sir William Temple, and then, entering the Church, became rector of Kilroot in Down, afterwards of Laracor in Meath, and finally, in 1713, Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin. Irish by birth and education, yet he took no pride in being an Irishman, and always regarded life in Ireland as an exile.[32] He considered the Irish language barbarous; he despised the Catholics and favoured the Penal Code; he hated the Presbyterians, opposed the repeal of the Test Act,[33] and helped to deprive them of the *Regium Donum;* and even among the Protestants he was disgusted at the corruption, the duplicity, the hypocrisy, the servitude which prevailed. Had he been born in affluence, and free to enter the English Parliament, he might have risen to the highest position in the State. For he had remarkable aptitude for public affairs and the qualities which in that field ensure success: a keen judgment, a clear vision, a due sense of adjusting means to the

[30] *Commons Journals.*
[31] Swift, Vol. VI., p. 119.
[32] He has left this on record:—

> "Remove me from this land of slaves,
> Where all are fools, and all are knaves,
> Where every fool and knave is bought,
> Yet kindly sells himself for nought."—
> *Works*, Vol. VII., p. 215.

[33] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., pp. 345-6, 5, 9-10; Vol. IV., pp. 5-22.



DEAN SWIFT

FROM THE PAINTING BY FRANCIS BINDON

The man scrambling for money represents Wood. In the background are Hibernia and the Temple of Fame

desired end; skill in reading character, absolute fearlessness, the power to put his own case in the best light and his opponents' case in the worst, and a capacity for satire and invective which even Juvenal has not surpassed. But his youth was darkened by poverty and ill-treatment; his imperious temper was soured; he was by nature gloomy, morose misanthropic; and the disappointments he met with only deepened the gloom. King William promised him his patronage, but forgot his promise; Queen Anne would not appoint him a bishop; Lord Wharton, though asked to help him by Somers, would do nothing; the Prime Minister, Walpole, was his enemy; and he who was able to dictate the policy of the British Empire could get no higher position than being an Irish dean.[34]

Such was the man who now attacked Wood's patent. Assuming the character of a Dublin tradesman, and under the name of M. B. Drapier, he published in rapid succession four letters, the first addressed to the common people, the second to the printer, the third to the nobility and gentry, the fourth to the whole people of Ireland; and in all of these Wood was roughly handled. He was a wretched ironmonger, an impudent hardwareman, a rat, a sharper, an incorrigible wretch, avaricious, insolent, dishonest. His coin was not wanted, it was not asked for, it was protested against, it was adulterated to excess, it was worth only a twelfth of its face value. Swift warned his countrymen that they were not bound to take it, and if they did he foretold what would happen: trade ruined, credit destroyed, universal bankruptcy, the withdrawal from circulation of all silver and gold. And then, with only Wood's half-pence as a medium of exchange, the farmer who paid £100 a year rent must bring to his landlord three horseloads of copper coin; the squire going to Dublin for the winter must bring six horseloads; and when his wife went shopping in the city she must have a cartload of Wood's half-pence at her heels. It was easy to see that these letters were not written by a shopkeeper, and the author was soon discovered to be the terrible Dean of St. Patrick's. He had

[34] Swift, Vol. I., Lecky's *Introduction*, Vol. VI., p. 139.

thrown a torch into a powder barrel, and the whole country was soon ablaze. For once factions and parties were forgotten, and every party, and class, and religion joined in common abhorrence of Wood's half-pence. The Lord Chancellor would have none of them, nor would the Privy Council or the Houses of Parliament; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin rejected them; the Corporation of Cork and Waterford resolved they would never receive or utter them in payment; the grand juries at sessions and assizes were equally resolute; the shopkeepers grew angry; the very beggars felt aggrieved; whoever accepted the coin was shunned; whoever offered them in payment was in danger of violence; and anyone might give expression to the most seditious language if he mixed it up with something about Wood's half-pence.

What was the Viceroy, the Duke of Grafton, to do? Behind Wood was the Duchess of Kendal, supported by the King; behind the King was Walpole, talking loudly of the royal prerogative. But Grafton knew that the granting of the patent was a disreputable transaction, with fraud as its source and plunder as its object;[35] he knew that the Irish were in the right and were determined not to yield; and he advised that the patent be declared void. Walpole was indignant, charged him with weakness and incapacity, and with betraying his friends in England; and in the end of 1724 he was recalled, and Lord Carteret, one of the ablest men in England, took his place.[36] He was a strong man as well as an able one; but he was confronted by one whose courage and ability were more than equal to his own; and the very day he landed in Dublin the fourth of the Drapier's letters appeared. Following Molyneux, Swift denied the right of the English Parliament to make laws for Ireland; this would be government without the consent of the governed, which was the very definition of slavery.[37] He boldly asserted that the Irish were and ought to be as free as Englishmen by the laws of God, of nature, and of nations; denied that Ireland was dependent

[35] Morley's *Sir Robert Walpole*, p. 71.
[36] Swift's *Works*, Vol. VII., pp. 231-49.
[37] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 115.

upon England, though it was united under its king; and that for himself, if the Pretender were to become King of England, he would spill the last drop of his blood rather than obey him. These last words were greedily seized upon by Carteret; if they were not actual they were contingent sedition; and in spite of opposition from many members of the Privy Council, he issued a proclamation offering a reward of £300 for the author of the letter, and ordered a prosecution of the printer. These heroic measures were useless. No one would inform against Swift, though everyone knew he was the author. And, when the bill against the printer was brought before the grand jury, Swift wrote them a letter advising them to throw it out, which they did. When a second jury met, the bill was again thrown out; and in spite of the judge's protests, a resolution was passed denouncing Wood's fraudulent impositions. At last even Carteret grew alarmed, and began to think that in milder measures there was wisdom. The patent must be given up, or Ireland deprived of its constitution, for a Parliament and Wood's half-pence could not be reconciled. In face of such an alternative the stubborn Walpole and his stubborn master accepted defeat as the lesser evil. The patent was cancelled; Wood received in compensation a pension of £3,000 a year for eight years; angry passions subsided; the whole nation felt relieved; and from that hour, Swift continued to be regarded by all Ireland as its hero and its deliverer.[38]

These exciting scenes were followed by many years of unbroken calm. Carteret was followed by Dorset, Dorset by Devonshire; but the Viceroys, in these days, spent most of their time in England; and for nearly 20 years the real ruler of Ireland was Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh. He had the Englishman's pride in his own country, and his contempt for Irishmen; he thought that all the great offices in Ireland should be filled by Englishmen—"As many should come over as can be decently sent,"[39]—and for the whole time that he was Primate he laboured unceasingly for that end.

[38] Swift's *Works*, Vol. VI. (*The Drapier's Letters*), Vol. VII., pp. 169-72.

[39] Boulter's *Letters*, Vol. I., p. 12.

His letters to England are full of such petitions and requests, and whenever a great office became vacant, sometimes even before death had come, his letters were sent, so that other claimants might be forestalled. He cared little whether or not his selections were the best qualified; it was enough that they were English, and zealous for English interests. His letters are those of a political intriguer and of a place-hunter rather than of a Christian bishop, zealous for his Church; and when we read, in his pompous epitaph at Westminster Abbey, that he was translated at death from Armagh to Heaven, we are reminded of the worthlessness of an epitaph. Yet, if he was fond of power, he was not fond of money, and in the famine of 1727-8, and again in that of 1739-40, he expended £40,000 of his money in relieving the poor; and at his death left £30,000 to various Protestant charities. He encouraged the linen manufactures; helped to make a canal from Newry to the Bann; and while he regarded Swift as a mischief-maker and a disturber, he had the sense to see that Wood's patent was iniquitous; and it was largely owing to him that a compromise on the question was due.[40]

The Catholics he held in special abhorrence. He desired to see Protestants and Presbyterians unite against them; and in opposition to Swift and others, he struggled hard to have the Test Act repealed. It was through him the Act was passed depriving the Catholics of the Parliamentary franchise, and another Act compelling barristers to take the oath of Abjuration, and to bring up their children Protestants.[41] The emigration of the Presbyterians and Protestants, and the increase of the Catholics, filled him with alarm; and in order to convert the latter, he proposed to set up schools and teach them "the English tongue and the principles of Christianity." He had no hope of the adults, but only of the children;[42] and, in 1733, he succeeded in getting a royal charter and a small government endowment, which was supplemented by many large private donations, and

[40] Boulter's *Letters*, p. 51; Froude's *English in Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 605-6.
[41] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 182-3.
[42] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 9-11.

thus began the Charter Schools. Religion and labour was their motto. The boys were put to work in the fields or at trades; the girls sewed and knitted, and lest they might relapse into Popery they were usually taken a distance from their homes. Subsequently children from 5 to 12 years found begging were taken up and sent to these schools; nor could the parents get them back.[43] But from the first the blight of failure was on Boulter's schools. The priests opposed them; the Catholics abhorred them; the only religion they taught was hatred of Catholicity; the management was bad; the teachers were immoral; instead of labour and religion, there was dirt, filth, sickness, ignorance and immorality; and before the last quarter of the century dawned, these schools, loaded with the curses of the Catholics, were condemned by all.[44]

A bishop, less prominent in the public life of the time than Boulter, was Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, a man of the finest character, a scholar, a student, a philosopher, pious without being bigoted, attached to his own church, yet tolerant of others. Unlike Boulter, he was an Irishman and loved Ireland. He did not believe in fomenting divisions among Irishmen, but rather wished that all would join together for the common good; that the absentee would remain at home; that the landlord would raise the standard of comfort and intelligence among his tenants; that the priests would use their influence with the people, to make them cultivate cleanliness, thrift, and sobriety.[45] Mild, gentle, inoffensive, a patriot and a Christian, a bishop with much of the apostolic spirit, he was an Irishman of whom Ireland should be proud; and when he died, in 1752, his country had to mourn the loss of her most brilliant son.[46]

Boulter had died in 1742, Swift in 1745, his last days darkened by sorrow, his great intellect gone, for the insanity long threatened had at last come. Not content with his victory over Wood, he poured out his wrath against English treatment of Ireland;

[43] *Commons Journals*, Vol. VIII., pp. 250, 316-17.
[44] Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, pp. 374-84; Froude, Vol. I., pp. 572-81.
[45] Berkeley's *Works*, Vol. III., pp. 356, 363, 438-9.
[46] Froude, Vol. I., pp. 566-9.

against the laws prohibiting the woollen trade; against the system of appointing Englishmen to all great offices in Ireland, and of governing the country exclusively for the advantage of England. Ireland, he said, was in the position of a man who was bid to look upon beautiful scenes, but whose vision of such was cut off by prison walls.[47] He lamented the recurring famines, and accurately traced their causes, and in bitter irony he suggested as the best way to relieve the people's poverty that their children should be cooked and eaten.[48] To the last his popularity remained, even when his powerful voice was no longer articulate and the light of reason was extinguished for ever.

With the disappearance of these three the most prominent figures in Irish life disappear; nor did any of their contemporaries rise beyond mediocrity. Some of the brightest intellects among the Protestants, such as Burke, went to London; the Catholics went abroad; in spite of the absentee tax the landlords still went to London and Bath.[49] At home, especially in Dublin, men of culture were to be found. Lord Orrery was not unworthy to be the friend of Swift and Pope and Johnson;[50] and at Dr. Delany's house, the furniture, the pictures, the dinners, the conversation of visitors and host, were characteristic of the best society.[51] And here and there outside of Dublin a gentleman was met, perhaps a cultivated clergyman, or a landlord who fenced and drained, and helped his tenants, remembering that property has its duties as well as its rights.[52] But such as these were few. Drunkenness had attained the proportions of a national vice. A gallon of claret in 24 hours was not an unusual allowance for one man, and bumper after bumper was drunk to the "glorious and immortal" King William; and whoever refused to join in this oft-repeated toast was called a Jacobite, a Papist, a knave, and was lucky if he escaped with his life.[53] In eating the same excess prevailed,

[47] *Works*, Vol. VII., p. 85.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-14—(*A Modest Proposal*).
[49] Froude, Vol. I., pp. 657-8; *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I,. p. 15.
[50] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 166, 170, 265.
[51] Swift's *Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 244-5; Mrs. Delany's *Autobiography*, Vol. II., pp. 308-10.
[52] Froude, Vol I., pp. 666-7.
[53] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. I., at the years 1736-7; Berkeley, Vol. III., p. 397.

and an observant Englishwoman did not see anywhere less than 14 dishes for dinner and 7 for supper. It was either a feast or a famine, for while the rich gorged themselves, the poor starved.[54] At the end of Chesterfield's term of office (1747) Lord Orrery saw an improvement. Duels were at an end; politeness, literature, and industry were making progress; and he was confident that Popery would fall before the assaults of the Charter Schools. But three years later he saw that ignorance and idleness were everywhere, and Popery still remained.[55]

Matters became worse in the years that followed. The Munster landlords commenced to enclose common lands on which the people's cattle grazed, or from which the people's turf supply had been drawn; they consolidated farms and sent the smaller tenants adrift; and as grazing lands were exempt from tithes, heavier imposts were placed on the holdings which remained. The Ulster tenants had to complain of excessive tithes and excessive rents, of being compelled to make roads to which the landlords contributed nothing. In both provinces discontent ripened into secret societies, and from these came outrage and crime. In Ulster the secret societies were called Oak Boys and Steel Boys, the former from wearing oak boughs in their hats. Marching in parties of 400 or 500, they sometimes burned houses and houghed cattle, but more frequently made speeches and indulged in threats, and compelled landlords and parsons to swear to moderate their demands. But they killed nobody, and were put down without difficulty. Some were imprisoned, some emigrated, the remainder were persuaded to peaceful ways.[56] In Munster the secret society was called that of the Whiteboys, because the members went about with shirts over their clothes. Marching at night, they levelled houses, dug up farms, houghed cattle, burned houses, sometimes pulled out men's tongues, or dragged them from their beds and buried them naked in holes lined with thorns. These methods were more violent than those used in Ulster; the Munstermen had less liberty, and had suffered

[54] Mrs. Delany, Vol. I., p. 351, 353; Swift, Vol. VII., pp. 87, 157-65.
[55] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. I., p. 320, Vol. II., p. 67.
[56] Hardy's *Life of Lord Charlemont*, pp. 94-6; *Charlemont Papers* Vol. I., pp. 20-1.

more than their northern brethren; and a rebellion of slaves is always more bloody than an insurrection of freemen.[57] For at least three years (1761-4) they kept the southern counties in terror. But a government of landlords and Protestants was not to be put down by a lawless association of hated Papists; and the Whiteboys were pursued with savage rigour. In Tipperary, martial law was proclaimed; informers were encouraged and rewarded; the jails were filled; special commissions were instituted to try them; on perjured evidence men were condemned; and Father Sheehy of Clogheen, in Tipperary, after a trial which was a disgrace even to Irish law, was sent to the scaffold with a declaration of innocence on his lips.[58]

In the midst of this confused medley of crime and misery, of discontent and disaffection, the proceedings in Parliament began to attract notice. The old question of the right of England to legislate for Ireland had been raised in the Dublin Corporation by Dr. Lucas, who declared that if the English Parliament continued to exercise such powers there was no safety for Ireland; her linen manufactures would be destroyed as were her woollen manufactures; and he added that liberty was the birthright of the people, and they could not relinquish it even if they would.[59] These were the views of Molyneux and Swift, and were equally unpalatable to the government. Lucas's works were condemned; he was declared an enemy of his country by the Irish House of Commons; and, seeking safety in flight, he lived for a time in the Isle of Man.[60] Allowed to return after a time, he was elected member of Parliament for Dublin; and for 20 years—until his death in 1771, he sat in the House of Commons, where his courage and ability were respected, and where his influence was great.[61] In the meantime the exile of Lucas did not end the embarrassments of the government, and his spirit appeared in the House of Commons. In 1749 the yearly revenue exceeded the expenditure, and it was agreed on all sides

[57] Hardys *Life of Lord Charlemont*, pp. 87-8, 95.
[58] Lecky's *Ireland*, Vol. II., pp. 1-44.
[59] Ball, p. 83-6.
[60] *Commons Journal*, Vol. VIII., pp. 58-9.
[61] Hardy, pp. 159-61; Froude, Vol. I., pp. 677-82.

to apply portion of the surplus to the reduction of the Irish National Debt, which then stood at £220,000. The House of Commons sent heads of Bills to England; but in England a clause was inserted that the King's consent had been previously obtained, implying that this was necessary. The Irish Parliament passed the Bill under protest; but they were resolved to assert their right, and when a similar alteration was made in England, in 1753, they threw out the altered Bill, and refused to vote the necessary supplies.

The government was perplexed. To levy taxes without the consent of Parliament would be to destroy the constitution; to rely on the hereditary revenue would be to go deeper into debt; and the prospect of outvoting the patriots seemed dark. A few great families, nicknamed the Undertakers, commanded a majority of votes. In the counties their influence was considerable; in the boroughs it was overwhelming. The boroughs created by James I., had still further decayed; such places as Randalstown, Swords, Augher, and Clogher, to mention but a few, had few burgesses; and there must have been many cases where both inhabitants and voters had disappeared.[62] Many of these decayed boroughs were the property of the Crown, and were represented by pensioners and placemen; but the greater number of them were in the hands of the Boyles, the Beresfords, the Ponsonbys, the Fitzgeralds, and were as much their property as the houses in which they lived. They could be bought and sold; and it was noted as a sign of reviving interest in Parliament, that, from 1750 to 1754, the price of a borough was trebled.[63] To call a party so constituted, the Opposition, and its opponents the Government, is sufficiently correct; but to call it a party of patriots seems a misuse of terms; and it is equally so when their principles are considered. With few exceptions, notably Malone and Hutchinson, they were fiercely anti-Catholic, and gloried in William of Orange; but they hated Primate Stone and the Viceroy; and at a banquet in Dublin, in 1754, they drank

[62] *Commons Journals*—List of members.

[63] Hardy's *Charlemont*, p. 42. In 1760 the price of a borough was £2,000. (*Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., p. 265.)

to the " Earl of Kildare and liberty," " disappointment to all those who under pretence of supporting the prerogative would destroy the liberty of the subject ; " and they fired a volley at the Primate by drinking " speedy exportation of rotten Stone, duty free." [64] Had they been sincere in cutting down the pension list, in shortening Parliaments, in taxing absentees, in encouraging industry, in demanding free trade and a free Parliament, they might have done much. But their professions were only mock heroics ; in their dictionary patriotism and plunder were synonymous ; and under the powerful solvent of places and pensions, the opposition of the patriots melted away. Boyle, the Speaker, got a pension and was made Earl of Shannon ; Ponsonby became Speaker ; Malone, Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Stannard, Prime Sergeant ; Kildare became Marquis and subsesequently Duke of Leinster ; in 1755 the usual supplies were voted without a murmur ; and the ship of State, lately labouring in troubled waters, sailed into a tranquil sea.[65]

Fresh storms soon arose. An addition of £28,000 a year to the already bloated pension list invited attack ; and, in 1759, by a unanimous vote of the House of Commons the pension list was condemned. The Viceroy, Bedford, had to declare that discontent and disaffection were universal ; the very placemen and pensioners were restive ; the Privy Council was dominated by faction ; nor could he count on more than 20 members of Parliament for support.[66] The Opposition, weakened by defections in 1755, were again strong ; and a powerful recruit was added to their ranks when Henry Flood entered Parliament. At the age of 27 he was elected for Kilkenny, in 1759, and at the general election of the following year he was re-elected for the same county. With a large income from landed estate, he was independent of the ruling aristocratic factions ; during the Viceroyalties of Halifax, Northumberland, and Hertford, he was prominent on the popular side ; and when Lord Townshend became Viceroy, in 1767,

[64] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. II., p. 122.
[65] Lecky's *Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 467-9 ; Froude, Vol. II., pp. 5-6 ; *The Earls of Kildare*, pp. 283-4, 294-5.
[66] Froude, Vol. I., pp. 691-4.

Flood was the acknowledged leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, and the most capable leader who had ever appeared within its walls. Hely Hutchinson was clever, and Sexton Pery, and Fitzgibbon; but Flood towered high above them all. His person was attractive, his voice rich, his knowledge of constitutional questions great, his judgment sound, his logic without a flaw; and both in exposition and in reply he carried conviction to his hearers' minds.[67]

At the general election of 1760 the voters demanded a promise from the candidates to support a Septennial Bill, and some insincere attempts were subsequently made in Parliament to have these promises redeemed. On Townshend's arrival heads of Bills were sent to the Privy Council, the hope being that these proposals would be rejected; but they came back from England with eight years substituted for seven; and with this slight change the Irish Parliament had to swallow the dose concocted by themselves.[68] A general election followed, and in 1769 Townshend met the new Parliament. To his chagrin they attacked the pension list, refused to increase the army as he demanded, and threw out a money bill because it had not originated with themselves. The great houses had again coalesced; but Townshend was resolved to break their power. He prorogued Parliament, which did not again sit for two years; dismissed Shannon and Ponsonby from the offices they held; struck off the Duke of Leinster's name from the Privy Council; and while others were bought by places and pensions, and invitations to the Castle, the great families and their friends were left out in the cold.[69] It was said that £500,000 was thus spent in breaking the power of these houses. But it was rolling the stone of Sisyphus. The new placemen were as intractable as the old, and, in 1771, Flood was able to carry a vote of censure on Townshend's administration in the House of Commons.[70] Nor did Townshend's successor, Harcourt, fare better. Bribery was

[67] Froude, Vol. II., pp. 52-5; Lecky's *Leaders of Public Opinion*, Vol. I., pp. 39-40.
[68] *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 25-6, 144—Note.
[69] Froude, Vol. II., pp. 84, 90, 99.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

again lavishly used; places and pensions multiplied; Hutchinson became Provost of Trinity College; and—more remarkable still—Flood asked for and obtained the office of Vice-Treasurer, with a salary of £3,500 a year. Taxed with thus deserting the popular cause, his excuse was that in Parliament he could trust nobody—all were so corrupt—and he felt that in the Privy Council he could do more for Ireland than in Parliament.[71] This event occurred in 1775, just as the first shot was fired in the American War; and the year that saw Flood's star as a patriot leader sink below the horizon, saw an even more brilliant one mount rapidly in the heavens, for in that year, Henry Grattan took his seat as member for Charlemont.

The new member and Flood were already well known to each other, and a few years previously had joined in attacking Townshend, in letters to the *Freeman's Journal*.[72] Both were men of the highest ability, and have sometimes been compared. Flood was cold, measured, calculating, Grattan impetuous and energetic; in debate the former appealed to reason alone, the latter to the emotions and passions as well as to reason; Flood could use sarcasm and invective with damaging effect, but Grattan went far beyond him, and those who provoked his wrath were scorched as with living fire; in voice and manner and gesture Flood had the advantage, for Grattan's voice was thin and his gestures ungraceful, but amid the fire and force of his delivery, the wealth and splendour of his imagery, the beauty of his diction, these defects were forgotten; and, if Flood was a strong river advancing with measured flow, Grattan was a mountain torrent, swollen with many tributary waters, and carrying in its rushing course everything in its path. In the moral qualities all the advantages were on Grattan's side. Flood was jealous and vain, Grattan was neither; Flood deserted the popular cause for office, Grattan was incorruptible; he loved Ireland with an undivided heart, and to serve her was his highest ambition. The ascendency of his

[71] Froude, 160-2; Hardy, pp. 182-4; *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 38-9, 41.

[72] *Baratariana*. Flood wrote under the pseudonym "Sindercome," Grattan as "Posthumus."

talents and character was quickly recognised, and he soon occupied the place which Flood had filled.

The state of the country was then bad and rapidly grew worse. The woollen manufactures and the finer kinds of linen manufactures had been killed by commercial disabilities; the coarser linens were shut out from the American markets by the war; one third of the weavers of the whole country were idle; in two years 10,000 of them had emigrated to America; the streets of Dublin were paraded by starving crowds, and an embargo laid on provisions was ruining the landed interest. The penal laws were still enforced; the tenants were harassed by rent and tithes; new taxes were every year imposed, and new loans contracted; the National Debt was nearly £1,000,000, and was going up; national bankruptcy seemed imminent. And, in the midst of all this, the pension list still grew. An Englishman had the salary of a sinecure office raised from £2,300 to £3,500; the Sardinian Ambassador was put on the Irish establishment for £1,000 a year; and three times that amount was annually given to the Queen of Denmark, whose only merit was that she had committed adultery with one of her subjects, and had been very justly driven from her throne. Even greater evils than these were feared. The French and Spaniards had joined the Americans; on land disaster had fallen on the British arms; on sea the British coasts were insulted; and along the Irish coasts privateers swarmed, with the French or American colours flying at their mastheads. A terrible Scotchman, Paul Jones, flying the American flag, scoured the Irish sea in his ship the Ranger, captured a Waterford and a Dublin vessel, burned the shipping at Whitehaven, plundered Kircudbright, and then, crossing the North Channel, entered Carrickfergus Harbour in open day and sunk an English ship of war.[73]

What were the Irish people to do? The greater part of the army was in America; the finances would not allow a fresh army to be raised, or even a militia; the coast towns were feebly manned; and if a French force landed no effective resistance could be offered. It was, then, the instinct of self-preservation rather

[73] Lecky's *Ireland*, Vol. II., pp. 153, 169-71, 226; Froude, Vol. II. 223-5, 229-32; O'Hanlon's *Irish American History*, pp. 254-5.

than any spirit of disaffection that urged the people as they did to raise an army of volunteers. Some corps were formed by country gentlemen from their tenants, some by the merchants in the towns, some were voluntary associations among the people themselves. Catholic money was subscribed and gratefully accepted for the equipment of this citizen army; but Catholics were not allowed to enter its ranks. Jealous of their numbers, the Government feared to put arms in their hands; nor did it favour the whole movement, —entirely non-Catholic though it was—and not without much hesitation were arms given out from the government stores. Serving without pay, and selecting their own officers, the men submitted freely to military discipline, were regularly drilled, wore distinctive uniforms, and, besides their small arms, they supplied themselves with some artillery. Among their officers were most of the public men of the day. Flood and Grattan were colonels; Lords Clanricarde and Charlemont and the Duke of Leinster held high commands. The movement spread rapidly. By the end of 1779 a force of 40,000 men was raised, and within two years it numbered 100,000. Loyal to England it always was, and in these dark days when England was beaten to the dust by her revolted colonies, it was the Volunteers that saved Ireland from foreign invasion.[74]

In the meantime, Grattan had been active in Parliament. Early in 1778 he moved an address to the king that the state of Ireland required to be urgently considered. The Government opposed him; the pensioners and placemen mustered in strength; and the motion was defeated by a heavy majority.[75] But even the Government felt that the existing state of things could not last; and before the year was out the embargo was taken off, and a Catholic Relief Bill passed enabling Catholics to take land on leases of 999 years, and to inherit land in the same way as Protestants. The following year, to placate the Presbyterians, the Test Act was repealed.[76] Both the Viceroy and the English ministry felt that the commercial disabilities should be abolished. But the

[74] Hardy, pp. 195-6; *Charlemont Papers*, pp. 356-70.
[75] *Grattan's Speeches*, Vol. I., pp. 14-20.
[76] Lecky, Vol. II., p. 216; Latimer's *History of the Irish Presbyterians*, p. 362.

English manufacturers took alarm; petitions poured into Parliament; Manchester, Liverpool and Bristol shouted themselves hoarse with rage, and even threatened to take up arms; and Lord North's government, cowering before the storm, whittled down the intended relief measure to a shadow.[77] Ireland was enraged. With few exceptions, every public man condemned these disabilities; Hely Hutchinson made an unanswerable case against them;[78] the advice of Swift, to burn everything English except her coal, was remembered; and at public meetings resolutions were passed that the manufactures of Great Britain were not to be imported or used.[79] Finally, the Volunteers became menacing; in the end of 1779 they filled the space at College Green with arms in their hands, and at the mouths of pieces of cannon they had put labels with the ominous words "Free Trade or this."[80] Even the placemen could no longer be relied on. When Grattan moved an amendment to the Viceroy's speech: "that it was not by temporary expedients but by a free export that the nation was to be saved from impending ruin," he was supported by Flood and Hussey Burgh, the Prime Sergeant; and the Government, knowing they would be defeated, allowed the motion to pass, as did a further motion in both Houses thanking the Volunteers.[81] With Grattan's addition the address was transmitted to England, but the answer which came back promised nothing. Dublin was in a ferment; the Volunteers became more threatening; and Grattan had no difficulty in carrying a motion refusing any new taxes, and a further one granting but six months' supply. On this occasion he spoke with great power; but the speech of Hussey Burgh produced even a greater effect. The state of Ireland, he said, was not one of peace, but of smothered war; England had sown her laws in dragon's teeth and they had sprung forth as armed men. From all parts of the House—from the members' benches and from the galleries filled by the public—these words

[77] Lecky, pp. 177-80; Hardy, pp. 198-9.
[78] In his book, *The Commercial Restraints of Ireland.*
[79] Froude, Vol. II., pp. 241-5.
[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 257-64.
[81] Hardy, pp. 200-1.

were met by a tempest of cheers; and when he added that he publicly resigned the office he held the tempest grew louder still. If he had, said Grattan, shut against himself the gates of promotion, he had opened the gates of glory. At last the English Parliament yielded; the hysterics of Lancashire and Bristol were disregarded; and Irish exports were free.[82]

But the millennium had not come. When sober reflection succeeded to universal joy, it was remembered that chronic distress cannot be suddenly relieved; that decayed manufactures do not immediately revive; that even yet a large part of the Penal Code remained; that judges were appointed at pleasure; that there was no Habeas Corpus Act, or Mutiny Act; that the English Parliament still maintained its claim to legislate for Ireland; and that the English Privy Council still had power to alter or reject Irish Bills. And the concessions gained had been wrung from England in her weakness, and might be taken back when her strength returned. About the Catholics there would be little difficulty, for all parties were agreed that there should be a further and substantial relaxation of the penal laws; and in 1781 the Habeas Corpus Act was extended to Ireland. But the Government was obstinately opposed to the independence of the judges, and to a Mutiny Bill; and when the Irish Parliament voted for one, the English Privy Council changed it from a biennial to a perpetual one, thus exempting for ever the Irish army from the civil law. In this form it passed in the Irish Parliament in spite of all the opposition which Grattan could give. The conviction was becoming general throughout Ireland that, as long as the Irish Parliament was controlled by the Privy Council, and as long as the power of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland remained, all that had been gained was nothing. Grattan thought the opportune moment was come to obtain legislative independence; and early in 1780 he moved in the House of Commons that only the King with the consent of the Parliament of Ireland could legislate for Ireland; and that Great Britain and Ireland were only united by the bond of a common sovereign. His speech was the finest ever delivered

[82] *Grattan's Speeches*, Vol. I., p. 35; Barrington, *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, p. 69; Lecky, Vol. II., pp. 240-3.

in the Irish Parliament, and charmed both friend and foe. Yet even some of Grattan's supporters advised that the motion should not be pressed to a division, and when this was done it was defeated.[83] Almost immediately, however, one of Grattan's principal supporters, Mr. Yelverton, moved the repeal of Poynings Act, but he also was defeated. The Viceroy, Buckingham, had done his work well; had dealt out places and pensions and titles with a lavish hand; and, well satisfied that he had beaten the Patriots, he left Ireland, in 1780, and was succeeded by the Earl of Carlisle.[84]

The situation was complex. The Undertakers controlled Parliament and were ready to support the Government; but they must get places and pensions in return; and the embarrassed state of the finances did not allow bribery to be tried on a large scale. Flood had gone over to the Opposition and had been deprived of his office, and to the Government his desertion was a serious blow. The Volunteers were loyal to England, but resolute for legislative independence, and if this were refused their loyalty to England would cease. Taxed with overawing Parliament, they replied that in becoming soldiers they did not cease to be citizens, and at a convention at Dungannon, in February, 1782, at which delegates from 25,000 men attended, they denounced Poyning's Act, the Act of 1719, and the Perpetual Mutiny Act; approved of the relaxation of the Penal Code; and demanded the independence of the judges and of Parliament. These resolutions were drawn up by Grattan and Flood, and by Charlemont, lately chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Volunteers.[85] Still obdurate, the Government and its majority would not yield, and when Grattan renewed his motion he was beaten by a majority of two to one,[86] And as if to emphasise the vote, the English Parliament in some Acts just passed inserted the name of Ireland. In revenge the Volunteers dismissed from their positions as officers those who had

[83] *Grattan's Speeches*, Vol. I., pp. 39-54.
[84] Lecky, Vol. II., pp. 251-4, 260-4; Froude, Vol. II., pp. 290-4.
[85] Barrington, pp. 100-01.
[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-7; Hardy, p. 212; *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 93-4.

voted against Grattan, and denounced the majority as a corrupt crew. The Dungannon Resolutions were everywhere adopted. The magistrates would not enforce English Acts; the grand juries would not obey them.[87] To govern Ireland was becoming impossible, and Carlisle advised that concessions be made. But just then (in March, 1782), Lord North's government fell, and Rockingham with Fox and Burke came into power. The Duke of Portland became Viceroy. The new ministers were friendly to Grattan, but pleaded for time. His answer was a stern refusal; he refused even to negotiate, knowing the time had come to act; and on the 16th of April he moved an address to the King declaring that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, and these alone, had power to make laws for Ireland; and the motion was carried unanimously.

With all their professions of friendship for Grattan's views, it seems certain that Portland's party would not have yielded if they could. But the crowning disaster of Yorktown had taken place; war was still raging with France and Spain; and England was in no condition to face a rebellious Ireland. Some delay there was, some attempt at negotiation, and then England yielded; and when the Irish Parliament met in May, the Act of 1719 had been already repealed; the appelate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords had been restored; and the King was prepared to give his assent to the repeal of Poyning's Act. A Catholic Relief Act soon followed; the Perpetual Mutiny Act was made biennial; and the independence of the judges was established. In gratitude to England £100,000 was voted to furnish 20,000 additional sailors to the British navy; and £50,000 was voted to Grattan for his priceless services to his country. Twice the amount was at first proposed, and would have been voted unanimously; but Grattan obstinately refused the larger amount, and only with reluctance accepted the lesser. Unlike Flood, he was a poor man, and proposed to resume the practice of his profession at the Bar, where his marvellous gifts of oratory would have soon brought him wealth. But the mansion and estate purchased for him by a grateful country left

[87] Lecky, Vol. II., pp. 286-7, 289, 294-5.

him free to devote his whole time to public affairs, and under these conditions he accepted the gift. He was to be his country's servant as he had been her deliverer; he gloried in what he had been able to do; and conceived it to be his duty, as it was his pride, to guard the liberties he had won.[88]

[88] Hardy, pp. 213-22; *Grattan's Speeches*, Vol. I., pp. 140-3; Froude, Vol. II., pp. 371-9; Barrington, pp. 133-49, 158-67; *Charlemont Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 65, 90, 92.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Printed by
THE EDUCATIONAL COMPANY OF IRELAND, LIMITED, DUBLIN

00035371

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh
FOUNDATION

An Initiative by
HDFC
WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018